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Capt.n JONATHAN CARVER.

From the Original Picture *in the poſſeſſion of J.C. Lettsom M.D.*

Published as the Act directs by R.Steward, N.o 287, near G.t Turnstile Holborn, Nov.r 16. 1780.

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

IN THE

YEARS 1766, 1767, and 1768.

BY J. CARVER, ESQ.

CAPTAIN OF A COMPANY OF PROVINCIAL TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR WITH FRANCE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER PLATES, COLOURED.

THE THIRD EDITION.

To which is added, SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR, AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

LONDON:

Printed for C. DILLY, in the Poultry; H. PAYNE, in Pall-mall; and J. PHILLIPS, in George-Yard, Lombard-Street.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

FEW works have had a more rapid ſale than the following; two large editions having been diſpoſed of in two years. This induced the proprietors to print a third: but, as ſoon as this impreſſion was finiſhed, I purchaſed both the printed copies and the copy-right.

I have ſince added to the work, ſome Account of the Author's life, and an Index to the Travels, which are publiſhed ſeparately, for the convenience of the purchaſers of the firſt and ſecond editions; on whom, I was unwilling to raiſe an extraordinary tax for the third edition.

JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM.

London, March 30, 1781.

TO

JOSEPH BANKS, Esq;

PRESIDENT

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY.

SIR,

WHEN the Public are informed that I have long had the Honour of your Acquaintance ——that my Design in publishing the following Work has received your Sanction——that the Composition of it has stood the Test of your Judgment——and that it is by your Permission a Name so deservedly eminent in the Literary World

is prefixed to it, I need not be apprehenſive of its Succeſs; as your Patronage will unqueſtionably give them Aſſurance of its Merit.

For this public Teſtimony of your Favour, in which I pride myſelf, accept, Sir, my moſt grateful Acknowledgments; and believe me to be, with great Reſpect,

Your obedient

humble Servant,

J. CARVER.

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
PUBLIC.

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE favourable reception this Work has met with, claims the Author's moſt grateful acknowledgments. A large edition having run off in a few months, and the ſale appearing to be ſtill unabated, a new impreſſion is become neceſſary. On this occaſion was he to conceal his feelings, and paſs over, in ſilence, a diſtinction ſo beneficial and flattering, he would juſtly incur the imputation of ingratitude. That he might not do this, he takes the opportunity, which now preſents itſelf, of conveying to the Public (though in terms inadequate to the warm emotions of his heart) the ſenſe he

he entertains of their favour; and thus tranſmits to them his thanks.

In this new edition, care has been taken to rectify thoſe errors which have unavoidably proceeded from the hurry of the preſs, and likewiſe any incorrectneſs in the language that has found its way into it.

The credibility of ſome of the incidents related in the following pages, and ſome of the ſtories introduced therein, having been queſtioned, particularly the prognoſtication of the Indian prieſt on the banks of Lake Superior, and the ſtory of the Indian and his rattle ſnake, the author thinks it neceſſary to avail himſelf of the ſame opportunity, to endeavour to eradicate any impreſſions that might have been made on the minds of his readers, by the apparent improbability of theſe relations.

As to the former, he has related it juſt as it happened. Being an eye-witneſs to the whole tranſaction (and, he flatters himſelf, at the time, free from every trace of ſceptical obſtinacy or enthuſiaſtic credulity) he was conſequently able to deſcribe every circumſtance

circumſtance minutely and impartially. This he has done; but without endeavouring to account for the means by which it was accompliſhed. Whether the prediction was the reſult of prior obſervations, from which certain conſequences were expected to follow by the ſagacious prieſt, and the completion of it merely accidental; or whether he was really endowed with ſupernatural powers, the narrator left to the judgment of his readers; whoſe concluſions, he ſuppoſes, varied according as the mental faculties of each were diſpoſed to admit or reject facts that cannot be accounted for by natural cauſes.

The ſtory of the rattle ſnake was related to him by a French gentleman of undoubted veracity; and were the readers of this work as thoroughly acquainted with the ſagacity and inſtinctive proceedings of that animal, as he is, they would be as well aſſured of the truth of it. It is well known, that thoſe ſnakes which have ſurvived through the ſummer the accidents reptiles are liable to, periodically retire to the woods, at the approach of winter; where each (as curious obſervers have remarked) takes

takes poſſeſſion of the cavity it had occupied the preceding year. As ſoon as the ſeaſon is propitious, enlivened by the invigorating rays of the ſun, they leave theſe retreats, and make their way to the ſame ſpot, though ever ſo diſtant, on which they before had found ſubſiſtence, and the means of propagating their ſpecies. Does it then require any extraordinary exertions of the mind to believe, that one of theſe regular creatures, after having been kindly treated by its maſter, ſhould return to the box, in which it had uſually been ſupplied with food, and had met with a comfortable abode, and that nearly about the time the Indian, from former experiments, was able to gueſs at? It certainly does not; nor will the liberal and ingenuous doubt the truth of a ſtory ſo well authenticated, becauſe the circumſtances appear extraordinary in a country where the ſubject of it is ſcarcely known.

Theſe explanations the author hopes will ſuffice to convince his readers, that he has not, as travellers are ſometimes ſuppoſed to do, amuſed them with improbable tales, or wiſhed to acquire importance by making his adventures ſavour of the marvellous.

SOME

ACCOUNT

OF

CAPTAIN J. CARVER.

THERE is a diſpoſition peculiar to every mind, that early predominates, and continues its influence through every period of life. Many circumſtances may, indeed, obſcure or divert its progreſs; but on all intereſting occaſions this conſtitutional bias will recur, and exhibit the natural character and genius of the individual.

Jonathan Carver, the author of the following work, was grandſon of William Joſeph Carver, of Wigan, in Lancaſhire, who was a captain in the army under king William, and ſerved in Ireland with ſuch diſtinguiſhed reputation, that that prince was pleaſed to reward him with the government of Connecticut in New-England, which appears to have

been the firſt appointment to that ſtation by the crown.

Our author was born, anno 1732, at Stillwater, in the province of Connecticut, ſince rendered famous by the ſurrender of the army under General Burgoyne; his father, who reſided at this place, and acted as a juſtice of the peace, died, when he was only fifteen years of age. He had received the rudiments of as liberal an education as could be procured in that neighbourhood, and, being deſigned for the practice of medicine, he was ſoon after his father's death placed with a gentleman of that profeſſion in Elizabeth Town, in the ſame province. A profeſſion that requires not only a cloſe and regular attention, but likewiſe a ſteady perſeverance, was not ſuited to that ſpirit of bold enterprize and adventure, which ſeemed to be the ruling paſſion of our author, who, at the age of eighteen, purchaſed an enſigncy in the Connecticut regiment, in which, as I have been informed, he acquired ſo much reputation, as to obtain the command of a company. Of this event, however, I have not found

found the leaſt mention among his papers, nor, indeed, of any other important circumſtance of his life till the year 1757, when he was in the army under General Webb, and fortunately eſcaped the dreadful maſſacre at Fort William Henry, where nearly 1500 brave troops were deſtroyed in cold blood by the Indians in the French army of General Montcalm.

In the enſuing year, 1758, a battalion of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Oliver Partridge, was raiſed in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, by order of Governor Pownall, for the purpoſe of invading Canada, in which our author ſerved as ſecond lieutenant of Captain Hawks's company; and in 1760 he was advanced to be captain of a company in Colonel Whetcomb's regiment of foot, during the adminiſtration of Governor Hutchinſon. In Governor Barnard's time, in 1762, Captain Carver commanded a company of foot in Colonel Saltonſtall's regiment.

I have not been able to collect any anecdotes of our author, during his military ſervices; but from the written recommendations in my hands, of perſons

high in office, under whom he acted, he appears to have acquitted himself with great reputation, and much to the satisfaction of his superior officers. These recommendations are not confined to military conduct merely; they uniformly introduce him as a person of piety, and of a good moral character. Throughout the narrative of his travels, indeed, an animated regard to the duties of religion is evidently prevalent, which must procure a credibility to the facts he mentions, that might otherwise be suspended. If authors, who have visited countries unknown to their contemporaries, had always been actuated by a sacred regard to truth and moral rectitude, history in general would have been developed with just and convincing relations, and not left involved in doubt and obscurity.

This firm integrity and undaunted courage appeared evident upon every interesting occasion: they were, indeed, essentially requisite to conduct him through the most dangerous enterprizes with a perseverance that is more generally the offspring of true fortitude, than

of

of daring boldneſs or impetuoſity of imagination.

With ſo many favourable requiſites for ſucceſs and advancement, deſcended from parents reſpectable for their military and civil dignity, as well as for their fortune; endued with courage, ſagacity, and a ſpirit of enterprize, rarely united in one individual, it might be an object of enquiry, why Captain Carver, whoſe conduct was ſo excellent, in a moral as well as in a military view, ſhould never have been promoted above the command of a company.

It is a truth confirmed by hiſtory, that true fortitude is the genuine offspring of an humble mind. Whatever we acquire by induſtry and labour, we are apt highly to eſtimate; it is a kind of new creation of our own; and a perſuaſion of this, inſpires ambition, and even a forward ardour for diſtinction; and what a partial imagination magnifies to ourſelves, we naturally magnify to others, and gradually acquire a conſequence, and reap rewards adequate, if not ſuperior, to deſert: but the naturally brave is naturally modeſt; what is innate, does not

preſent

preſent itſelf to the imagination as its own; it neither begets vanity, nor excites ambition; and thus great endowments, which might have been cheriſhed, and turned to the moſt important advantages, are frequently neglected, and loſt to ſociety. Whatever natural or acquired excellencies were poſſeſſed by Captain Carver, not only ſeemed unnoticed by himſelf, but were accompanied by a diffidence, which in ſome inſtances was extraordinary indeed; and the reader muſt be convinced of this, when he is informed, that Captain Carver died, through want, with three commiſſions in his pocket.

The year after his commiſſion under Colonel Saltonſtall was ſigned, the peace of Verſailles took place, namely, anno 1763, when our author, having diſcharged his military obligations to his country, retired from the army. But his natural turn for enterprize, and the purſuit of novelty, did not ſuffer him to enjoy a life of uſeleſs eaſe; he began to conſider, to uſe his own ſentiments (having rendered his country ſome ſervices during the war) how he might continue ſtill

ſervice-

ſerviceable, and contribute, as much as lay in his power, to make that vaſt acquiſition of territory, gained by Great Britain in North America, advantageous to it; and here he commences his own biographer, continuing his relation in the following hiſtory of his travels, till his viſit to England in the year 1769.

Though I have not been able to procure many additional anecdotes of this ingenious traveller, yet a reſpect to his memory, and a ſenſe of his ſervices to the nation at large, excited a deſire to bring together a few outlines of his character, and probably at ſome future period, when the preſent unhappy conteſt between this kingdom and the American colonies ſhall have ſubſided, particulars of more importance than I have been able to meet with, may be procured from that part of the world, which he has taken ſo much uſeful labour to deſcribe.

This barrenneſs of materials is, however, in ſome degree compenſated by the important relations he has communicated in the ſucceeding pages, which not only regard himſelf, but likewiſe a part of the great

great American continent, hitherto almoſt unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, and even to thoſe of the cultivated parts of the ſame continent.

In his deſcriptions of theſe vaſt regions, he ſeems to have embraced every opportunity of pointing out the advantages which might be derived in a commercial view, from a juſt knowledge of them, and of the policy of the various tribes who poſſeſs them. In his picturesque view of the ſcenery round Lake Pepin, his imagination, animated as it was by the magnitude, the novelty, and grandeur of the objects, is not ſo far tranſported, as to interrupt the moſt ſcrupulous attention to the ſituation, as improveable for commercial and national advantages.

In the midſt of a new and rich creation, he ſuggeſted the probability of rendering this lake, and its variegated environs, the center of immenſe traffick, with a people whoſe names and tribes were ſcarcely known to the commercial parts of either ſide of the Britiſh empire, but whoſe diſpoſitions and purſuits

ſeemed

ſeemed calculated to promote and ſecure this intereſting and national benefit.

The lake, which is about twenty miles in length, and ſix in breadth, and through which the Miſſiſſippi directs its courſe, is about two thouſand miles from the entrance into the gulf of Mexico, and as many weſterly from Quebec, Boſton, and New-York; it is ſituated between 42 and 43 degrees of north latitude. The plains in its vicinity are extenſive, and fit for immediate cultivation: elk, deer, and other quadrupeds, including the beaver, otter, mink, martin, ſable, muſk-rat, and the largeſt buffaloes in America, are the inhabitants of this region, whilſt various ſpecies of wild fowl frequent the lake, whoſe waters are ſtored with fiſh in great abundance; vegetation is luxuriant in the meadows, where the maple is indigenous, of whoſe ſap the Indians make great quantities of ſugar, capable of fermentation, and of producing ſpirit; the grapes hang in ſuch cluſters, that almoſt any quantity of brandy might, under a like proceſs, be diſtilled from them; rice, a grain adapted to many

uſeful purpoſes of life, is alſo very plentiful.

The number of hunting Indians, who frequent Lake Pepin, is not leſs than 2000, each of whom brings about one hundred pounds weight of beaver to barter, which, at the loweſt price, in the London market, is five ſhillings a pound; hence a trade at this place will command annually 200000 crowns worth of furs, beſides ſkins. But there is reaſon to conclude, that when a general mart is eſtabliſhed here, furniſhed with a ſufficient aſſortment of goods, and a ſupply of liquors, that there would be a more general reſort of traders.

The French, indeed, ſupported a trade at this lake, before the Engliſh had made a conqueſt of the country; but they never attempted the lucrative branch of diſtilling ſpirituous liquors upon the ſpot, though they have been conveyed hither two thouſand miles of difficult carriage, and produced conſiderable profit.

It may be doubted in a moral, if not in a political view, whether ſuch a traffic of rendering the means of inebriation

tion more eaſily attainable, ſhould meet with the encouragement of the legiſlature. Captain Carver, however, computed that 2000 gallons of brandy could be made on the ſpot, as cheap as in the Weſt-Indies; and that by avoiding the expence of 3000 miles carriage alſo, the traders would make a ſaving of 2000 per cent. beſides duties and various contingencies: and as, by a moderate computation, every gallon of ſpirits will produce there what will amount to ten pounds in the London market, it muſt eventually prove a moſt lucrative branch of trade, if purſued with proper caution and policy.

The great plenty of the edible neceſſaries of life, will afford a cheap, eaſy, and ſalutary ſupply; and the goodneſs of the ſoil, with very little labour, will render proviſions ſtill more eaſily attainable, and altogether form a place of traffic hitherto unequalled.

From Captain Carver's long reſidence in the neighbourhood of Lake Pepin, among the Naudowiſſie and Chipèway Indians, he acquired a knowledge of their languages, and an intimacy with

many of their chiefs, which, with his ſpirited and judicious conduct in acting as a mediator between theſe two nations, conciliated their attachment and friendſhip; and as an acknowledgment of their grateful ſenſe of his happy interference, the Naudowiſſies gave him a formal grant of a tract of land, lying on the north ſide of Lake Pepin. The original, duly ſubſcribed by two chiefs, is in my poſſeſſion; and as an Indian deed of conveyance may prove a curioſity to many readers, I ſhall here inſert a copy of it.

" To Jonathan Carver, a chief under
" the moſt mighty and potent George
" the Third, King of the Engliſh and
" other nations, the fame of whoſe
" courageous warriors have reached our
" ears, and has been more fully told us
" by our good brother Jonathan afore-
" ſaid, whom we rejoice to ſee come
" among us, and bring us good news
" from his country. We, chiefs of the
" Naudowiſſies, who have hereto ſet our
" ſeals, do by theſe preſents for ourſelves
" and heirs for ever, in return for the
" many preſents, and other good ſervices

" done

" done by the ſaid Jonathan to ourſelves
" and allies, give, grant, and convey to
" him the ſaid Jonathan, and to his heirs
" and aſſigns for ever, the whole of a
" certain tract or territory of land,
" bounded as follows: (viz.) from the
" fall of St. Anthony, running on the
" eaſt banks of the Miſſiſſippi, nearly
" ſouth-eaſt, as far as the ſouth end of
" Lake Pepin, where the Chipeway
" river joins the Miſſiſſippi, and from
" thence eaſtward five days travel,
" accounting twenty Engliſh miles per
" day, and from thence north ſix days
" travel, at twenty Engliſh miles per
" day, and from thence again to the fall
" of St. Anthony, on a direct ſtraight
" line. We do for ourſelves, heirs, and
" aſſigns, for ever, give unto the ſaid Jo-
" nathan, his heirs and aſſigns, for ever,
" all the ſaid lands, with all the trees,
" rocks, and rivers therein, reſerving for
" ourſelves and heirs the ſole liberty of
" hunting and fiſhing on land not plant-
" ed or improved by the ſaid Jonathan,
" his heirs and aſſigns, to which we have
" affixed our reſpective ſeals, at the great

" cave,

" cave, May the firſt, one thouſand ſeven
" hundred and ſixty-ſeven."

Hawnopawjatin his mark

Otohtongoom-
liſheaw his mark

Soon after the above period, our author concluded to return to Boſton, where he arrived in 1768, having been abſent two years and five months, during which time he had travelled about ſeven thouſand miles. After digeſting his journal and charts, he ſailed for England, and arrived there in the year 1769. The reaſons which induced him to undertake this voyage, are amply related by himſelf in his travels (page 177.) to which I refer.

Few objects have excited a more general enquiry than the diſcovery of a north-weſt

weſt paſſage, in order to open a communication with the great pacific ocean and the Eaſt Indies, by a ſhorter navigation than by doubling thoſe immenſe promontories, the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. Every allurement of gain, and national emolument, has been propoſed to encourage the attempt, but, hitherto, every attempt hath been fruitleſs, though the moſt experienced ſeamen have engaged in the undertaking. Our traveller ſuggeſted an attempt by land, acroſs the north weſt parts of North America, and actually drew a chart of his propoſed rout for effecting his project, which, however viſionary it may now be deemed, affords at leaſt a proof of the enterprizing ſpirit of Captain Carver, and which he would, probably, have attempted, had any encouragement been afforded him: (introd. pap. 6. and append. pag. 539, et ſeq.)

When he viſited England, he appeared with the moſt favourable credentials of his character in every reſpect: many of theſe are now in my poſſeſſion; but that which ſeemed to promiſe the moſt beneficial advantages, was conferred upon him by General Gage, and, in conſequence of

a petition

a petition preſented to the king, and referred to the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, our traveller had formed the fond hope of ſeeing his labours ſo far rewarded, as to be reimburſed thoſe ſums he had expended in the ſervice of government, agreeable to the relation conveyed in the introduction to his travels.

In a large, free, and widely extended government, where every motion depends upon a variety of ſprings, the leſſer and ſubordinate movements muſt be acted upon by the greater, and conſequently the more inferior operations of ſtate will be ſo diſtant, as not to be perceived in the grand machine: whether Captain Carver's diſappointments reſulted from theſe principles, or that government did not eſtimate his ſervices in equal proportion to his own idea of them, is not ſo eaſily aſcertained, as that he thought himſelf not only neglected, but treated with injuſtice.

The condition of a ſuppliant is what his mind muſt have ſubmitted to with reluctance. Men of ſuperior endowments are liable to be jealous of the leaſt inattention,

tention, which they are apt to conſider as an inſult on their diſtreſs. A feeling mind, like his, conſcious of its dignity and ſuperior merit, might not be able to ſtoop to that importunity and adulation, which are ſometimes requiſite to inſure the ſmiles and favours of thoſe in power; otherwiſe it might naturally be ſuggeſted, that his extenſive acquaintance with America, and with the cuſtoms and languages of the Indians, in the interior parts of that vaſt continent, then the theatre of an unnatural and bloody conteſt, would have pointed him out as a moſt uſeful inſtrument in the hands of government.

With the advantages, however, of an intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, he united a determined loyalty to the king, and a fixed attachment to his American countrymen; and thus the principle of acting agreeably to the feelings of conſcience, would equally operate upon him reſpecting the contending parties. He had repeatedly riſked his life in the ſervice of his prince, againſt whoſe government he was equally averſe from drawing his ſword, as againſt his trans-

atlantic brethren: he might not, therefore, be deemed an important acquiſition to the ruling powers here, and the prayer of his petition was ſcarcely heard in the clamours of popular commotion.

Perſons of ingenuity, however oppreſſed by their own ſufferings, in a buſy commercial country, may ſtrike out ſome means of ſubſiſtence; but, in a domeſtic ſtate, where many depend upon the induſtry of an individual, the difficulty of procuring ſupport is not only rendered more affecting to the feeling mind, but likewiſe greatly augmented. Captain Carver, after having exhauſted his fortune, had now a family to ſupport, without knowing how to turn his abilities to any means of ſuccouring them. Diſtreſs of mind begets debility of body, which is ſtill aggravated by penury, and a want of the common neceſſaries of life. His conſtitution, naturally firm, gradually grew weaker and weaker; but his regard to his family animated his ſpirit to exertions beyond the ſtrength of his body, which enabled him to preſerve exiſtence through the winter of 1779, by acting as a clerk in a lottery-office; but the

the vital powers, ſuccoured as they were by this caſual ſupport, diminiſhed by certain, though imperceptible, degrees, till at length a putrid fever ſupervening a long continued dyſentery brought on by want, put an end to the life of a man, who, after rendering, at the expence of fortune and health, and the riſk of life, many important ſervices to his country, periſhed through want in the firſt city of the world.

In ſize, Captain Carver was rather above the middle ſtature, and of a firm muſcular texture; his features expreſſed a firmneſs of mind and boldneſs of reſolution; and he retained a florid complexion to his lateſt moments.

In converſation he was ſocial and affable, where he was familiar; but his extreme diffidence and modeſty kept him in general reſerved in company. In his familiar epiſtles, he commanded an eaſy and agreeable manner of writing; and ſome pieces of his poetry, which have been communicated to me, afford proofs of his lively imagination and of the harmony of his verſification.

His only authentic publications I have ſeen are the preſent work, and a Treatiſe on the Culture of the Tobacco Plant, anno 1779. The former will ſpeak for itſelf: the opinion of the public has, indeed, been fully teſtified by the rapid ſale of two large editions of this work in the ſpace of the laſt two years.

The Treatiſe on Tobacco is a ſmall octavo of fifty-four pages, containing two engravings of the plant, and an account of its cultivation on the American continent. As this vegetable conſtitutes one of the moſt conſiderable branches of commerce betwixt the old and new hemiſpheres of the world, and thrives luxurioufly in Europe as well as in America, it is now pretty generally known: from the elegance of the plant and beauty of its flowers, it is cultivated in gardens for ornament; in which character it will appear from a view of the annexed engraving of it.

It was firſt ſent into Spain, in 1560: from Tabaco, a province of Yucatan, by Hermandez de Toledo, and from the place of its growth it received the name which it ſtill bears.

Drawn and Engrav'd for Carvers Travels, as the Act directs, by F. Sansom N. 16 Maiden Lane Cheapside

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It was called, by the French, Nicotiana, after John Nicot, who went ſoon after it was diſcovered, as ambaſſador to that court, from Francis the Second of Portugal, and carried ſome of it with him.

Before the preſent conteſt between Great-Britain and the Colonies, about 96,000 hogſheads were annually imported from Maryland and Virginia, which, with the duties on the home conſumption, and the returns on foreign export, produced an immenſe revenue to this country.

The general uſes of Tobacco are well known; beſides which, it is found nearly equal to the beſt oak-bark for tanning leather, eſpecially with thinner ſorts of hides; and would probably be uſed for this purpoſe, were it as cheap as the bark of the oak.

Few ſubjects have been more copiouſly treated on than Tobacco: Monardes, Stephanus, Everhartus, Thorius, Neander, Pauli, have each wrote upon it largely. Neander publiſhed a volume on this ſubject, entitled, Tobacologia, and ornamented it with plates, to exhibit

hibit its cultivation and manner of preparation; and, lately, Captain Carver publiſhed the above-mentioned Treatiſe on the Culture of this Plant, with a view to inſtruct landholders in the method of cultivating it with profit, and to this pamphlet I ſhall refer the reader for further particulars.

Our author died on the 31ſt of January 1780, at the age of forty-eight years, and lies interred in Holywell-Mount burying-ground.

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INTRO-

A NEW MAP of NORTH AMERICA, From the Latest Discoveries 1778
Engrav'd for Carvers Travels
British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree
Longitude West from London
BAFFINS BAY
GREENLAND
Cumberland I
Eskimeaux
The Suppos'd Eskimeaux Passage to the South Sea
Land supposed to be the Continent of America
Arctic Circle
These Parts are unknown
Repulse Bay
North Main
Good Fortune I
Hudsons Straits
NEW NORTH WALES
HUDSONS BAY
Churchill R
York Ft
Eskimeaux LABRADOR or NEW BRITAIN
Eskimeaux
Criftinaux
Land of the Meadows
Assiniboils
WESTERN SEA
Straights of Anian
River of the West
NEW ALBION
Teguayo & Quivira
NEW SOUTH WALES
JAMES BAY
CANADA
Gulf of St Laurence
NOVA SCOTIA
ENGLAND
NEW YORK
PENSILVANIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
Cherakees
Creek Indians
Chactaws
Akansas
CHIPEWAY
OTTAWAS
OTTIGAMIES
NAUDOWESSIE
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Lake Michigan
Lake Winipeg
Lake of the Woods
Red L
Red R
Winipeg
Saskatchewan R
Athabasca L
Slave L
Great Bear L
Great Slave L
Great Winipeg L
Assiniboils R
Missouri R
Mississippi R
Ohio R
Tennessee R
Cumberland R
Alleghany R
Potomac R
Delaware R
Hudsons R
Connecticut R
Kennebec R
Penobscot R
St Lawrence R
Saskatchewan R
Colorado R
Gila R
Rio Grande
Rio Bravo
Panuco
NEW LEON
New Biscay
Cinaloa
Culiacan
Gulf of California
Loreto
Gulf of MEXICO
Cape Florida
LUCAYOS or BAHAMA
Bermudas I
Tropic of Cancer
ATLANTIC OCEAN

INTRODUCTION.

NO ſooner was the late War with France concluded, and Peace eſtabliſhed by the Treaty of Verſailles in the Year 1763, than I began to conſider (having rendered my country ſome ſervices during the war) how I might continue ſtill ſerviceable, and contribute, as much as lay in my power, to make that vaſt acquiſition of territory, gained by Great Britain, in North America advantageous to it. It appeared to me indiſpenſably needful, that Government ſhould be acquainted in the firſt place with the true ſtate of the dominions they were now become poſſeſſed of. To this purpoſe, I determined, as the next proof of my zeal, to explore the moſt unknown

parts of them, and to ſpare no trouble or expence in acquiring a knowledge that promiſed to be ſo uſeful to my countrymen. I knew that many obſtructions would ariſe to my ſcheme from the want of good Maps and Charts; for the French, whilſt they retained their power in North America, had taken every artful method to keep all other nations, particularly the Engliſh, in ignorance of the concerns of the interior parts of it: and to accompliſh this deſign with the greater certainty, they had publiſhed inaccurate maps and falſe accounts; calling the different nations of the Indians by nicknames they had given them, and not by thoſe really appertaining to them. Whether the intention of the French in doing this, was to prevent theſe nations from being diſcovered and traded with, or to conceal their diſcourſe, when they talked to each other of the Indian concerns, in their preſence, I will not determine; but whatſoever was the

cauſe

cauſe from which it aroſe, it tended to miſlead.

As a proof that the Engliſh had been greatly deceived by theſe accounts, and that their knowledge relative to Canada had uſually been very confined, before the conqueſt of Crown-Point in 1759, it had been eſteemed an impregnable fortreſs: but no ſooner was it taken, than we were convinced that it had acquired its greateſt ſecurity from falſe reports, given out by its poſſeſſors, and might have been battered down with a few four pounders. Even its ſituation, which was repreſented to be ſo very advantageous, was found to owe its advantages to the ſame ſource. It cannot be denied but that ſome maps of theſe countries have been publiſhed by the French with an appearance of accuracy; but theſe are of ſo ſmall a ſize and drawn on ſo minute a ſcale, that they are nearly inexplicable. The ſources of the Miſſiſſippi, I can aſſert from my

own experience, are greatly miſplaced; for when I had explored them, and compared their ſituation with the French Charts, I found them very erroneouſly repreſented, and am ſatisfied that theſe were only copied from the rude ſketches of the Indians.

Even ſo lately as their evacuation of Canada they continued their ſchemes to deceive; leaving no traces by which any knowledge might accrue to their conquerors: for though they were well acquainted with all the Lakes, particularly with Lake Superior, having conſtantly a veſſel of conſiderable burthen thereon, yet their plans of them are very incorrect. I diſcovered many errors in the deſcriptions given therein of its Iſlands and Bays, during a progreſs of eleven hundred miles that I coaſted it in canoes. They likewiſe, on giving up the poſſeſſion of them, took care to leave the places they had occupied in the ſame uncultivated ſtate they had found them; at the ſame time deſtroying

ſtroying all their naval force. I obſerved myſelf part of the hulk of a very large veſſel, burnt to the water's edge, juſt at the opening from the Straits of St. Marie's into the Lake.

Theſe difficulties, however, were not ſufficient to deter me from the undertaking, and I made preparations for ſetting out. What I chiefly had in view, after gaining a knowledge of the Manners, Cuſtoms, Languages, Soil, and natural Productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Miſſiſſippi, was to aſcertain the Breadth of that vaſt continent, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadeſt part between 43 and 46 Degrees Northern Latitude. Had I been able to accompliſh this, I intended to have propoſed to Government to eſtabliſh a Poſt in ſome of thoſe parts about the Straits of Annian, which having been firſt diſcovered by Sir Francis Drake, of courſe belong to the

Engliſh. This I am convinced would greatly facilitate the diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage, or a communication between Hudſon's Bay and the Pacific Ocean. An event ſo deſirable, and which has been ſo often ſought for, but without ſucceſs. Beſides this important end, a ſettlement on that extremity of America would anſwer many good purpoſes, and repay every expence the eſtabliſhment of it might occaſion. For it would not only diſcloſe new ſources of trade, and promote many uſeful diſcoveries, but would open a paſſage for conveying intelligence to China, and the Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan will allow of.

How far the advantages ariſing from ſuch an enterprize may extend can only be aſcertained by the favourable concurrence of future events. But that the completion of the ſcheme, I have had the honour of

firſt

firſt planning and attempting, will ſome time or other be effected, I make no doubt. From the unhappy diviſions that at preſent ſubſiſt between Great Britain and America, it will probably be ſome years before the attempt is repeated; but whenever it is, and the execution of it carried on with propriety, thoſe who are ſo fortunate as to ſucceed, will reap, excluſive of the national advantages that muſt enſue, Emoluments beyond their moſt ſanguine expectations. And whilſt their ſpirits are elated by their ſucceſs, perhaps they may beſtow ſome commendations and bleſſings on the perſon that firſt pointed out to them the way. Theſe, though but a ſhadowy recompence for all my toil, I ſhall receive with pleaſure.

To what power or authority this new world will become dependent, after it has ariſen from its preſent uncultivated ſtate, time alone can diſcover. But as the ſeat of Empire from time immemorial has been

gradually progreſſive towards the Weſt, there is no doubt but that at ſome future period, mighty kingdoms will emerge from theſe wilderneſſes, and ſtately palaces and ſolemn temples, with gilded ſpires reaching the ſkies, ſupplant the Indian huts, whoſe only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquiſhed enemies.

As ſome of the preceding paſſages have already informed the Reader that the plan I had laid down for penetrating to the Pacific Ocean, proved abortive, it is neceſſary to add, that this proceeded not from its impracticability (for the farther I went the more convinced I was that it could certainly be accompliſhed) but from unforeſeen diſappointments. However, I proceeded ſo far, that I was able to make ſuch diſcoveries as will be uſeful in any future attempt, and prove a good foundation for ſome more fortunate Succeſſor to build upon. Theſe I ſhall now lay before the Public in the following pages;

pages; and am ſatisfied that the greateſt part of them have never been publiſhed by any perſon that has hitherto treated of the interior Nations of the Indians; particularly, the account I give of the Naudoweſſies, and the ſituation of the Heads of the four great rivers that take their riſe within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the center of this great continent; viz. The River Bourbon, which empties itſelf into Hudſon's Bay; the Waters of Saint Lawrence; the Miſſiſſippi, and the River Oregon, or the River of the Weſt, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Annian.

The impediments that occaſioned my returning, before I had accompliſhed my purpoſes, were theſe. On my arrival at Michillimackinac, the remoteſt Engliſh poſt, in September 1766, I applied to Mr. Rogers, who was then governor of it, to furniſh me with a proper aſſortment of goods, as preſents for the Indians who

in-

inhabit the track I intended to purſue. He did this only in part; but promiſed to ſupply me with ſuch as were neceſſary, when I reached the Falls of Saint Anthony. I afterwards learned that the governor fulfilled his promiſe in ordering the goods to be delivered to me; but thoſe to whoſe care he intruſted them, inſtead of conforming to his orders, diſpoſed of them elſewhere.

Diſappointed in my expectations from this quarter, I thought it neceſſary to return to La Prairié Le Chien; for it was impoſſible to proceed any farther without preſents to enſure me a favorable reception. This I did in the beginning of the year 1767, and finding my progreſs to the Weſtward thus retarded, I determined to direct my courſe Northward. I took this ſtep with a view of finding a communication from the Heads of the Miſſiſſippi into Lake Superior, in order to meet, at the grand Portage on the North-weſt ſide

of

of that lake, the traders that uſually come, about this ſeaſon, from Michillimackinac. Of theſe I intended to purchaſe goods, and then to purſue my journey from that quarter by way of the lakes de Pluye, Dubois, and Ounipique to the Heads of the river of the Weſt, which, as I have ſaid before, falls into the Straits of Annian, the termination of my intended progreſs.

I accompliſhed the former part of my deſign, and reached Lake Superior in proper time; but unluckily the traders I met there acquainted me, that they had no goods to ſpare; thoſe they had with them being barely ſufficient to anſwer their own demands in theſe remote parts. Thus diſappointed a ſecond time, I found myſelf obliged to return to the place from whence I began my expedition, which I did after continuing ſome months on the North and Eaſt borders of Lake Superior, and exploring the Bays and Rivers that empty themſelves into this large body of water.

As

As it may be expected that I ſhould lay before the Public the reaſons that theſe diſcoveries, of ſo much importance to every one who has any connections with America, have not been imparted to them before, notwithſtanding they were made upwards of ten years ago, I will give them to the world in a plain and candid manner, and without mingling with them any complaints on account of the ill treatment I have received.

On my arrival in England, I preſented a petition to his Majeſty in council, praying for a reimburſement of thoſe ſums I had expended in the ſervice of government. This was referred to the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations. Their Lordſhips from the tenor of it thought the intelligence I could give of ſo much importance to the nation that they ordered me to appear before the Board. This meſſage I obeyed, and underwent a long examination; much I believe to the

the ſatisfaction of every Lord preſent. When it was finiſhed, I requeſted to know what I ſhould do with my papers; without heſitation the firſt Lord replied, That I might publiſh them whenever I pleaſed. In conſequence of this permiſſion, I diſpoſed of them to a bookſeller: but when they were nearly ready for the preſs, an order was iſſued from the council board, requiring me to deliver, without delay, into the Plantation Office, all my Charts and Journals, with every paper relative to the diſcoveries I had made. In order to obey this command, I was obliged to re-purchaſe them from the bookſeller, at a very great expence, and deliver them up. This freſh diſburſement I endeavoured to get annexed to the account I had already delivered in; but the requeſt was denied me, notwithſtanding I had only acted, in the diſpoſal of my papers, conformably to the permiſſion I had received from the Board of Trade. This

loſs,

loſs, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum, I was obliged to bear, and to reſt ſatisfied with an indemnification for my other expences.

Thus ſituated, my only expectations are from the favour of a generous Public; to whom I ſhall now communicate my Plans, Journals, and Obſervations, of which I luckily kept copies, when I delivered the originals into the Plantation Office. And this I do the more readily, as I hear they are miſlaid; and there is no probability of their ever being publiſhed. To thoſe who are intereſted in the concerns of the interior parts of North America, from the contiguity of their poſſeſſions, or commercial engagements, they will be extremely uſeful, and fully repay the ſum at which they are purchaſed. To thoſe, who, from a laudable curioſity, wiſh to be acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of every inhabitant of this globe, the accounts here given of the

the various nations that inhabit ſo vaſt a track of it, a country hitherto almoſt unexplored, will furniſh an ample fund of amuſement and gratify their moſt curious expectations. And I flatter myſelf they will be as favourably received by the Public, as deſcriptions of iſlands, which afford no other entertainment than what ariſes from their novelty; and diſcoveries, that ſeem to promiſe very few advantages to this country, though acquired at an immenſe expence.

To make the following Work as comprehenſible and entertaining as poſſible, I ſhall firſt give my Readers an account of the route I purſued over this immenſe continent (through which they will be able to attend me by referring to the plan prefixed) and as I paſs on, deſcribe the number of Inhabitants, the ſituation of the Rivers and Lakes, and the productions of the country. Having done this, I ſhall treat, in diſtinct Chapters, of the Man-

Manners, Cuſtoms, and Languages of the Indians, and to complete the whole, add a Vocabulary of the Words moſtly in uſe among them.

And here it is neceſſary to beſpeak the candour of the learned part of my Readers in the peruſal of it, as it is the production of a perſon unuſed, from oppoſite avocations, to literary purſuits. He therefore begs they would not examine it with too critical an eye; eſpecially when he aſſures them that his attention has been more employed on giving a juſt deſcription of a country that promiſes, in ſome future period, to be an inexhauſtible ſource of riches to that people who ſhall be ſo fortunate as to poſſeſs it, than on the ſtyle or compoſition; and more careful to render his language intelligible and explicit, than ſmooth and florid.

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A PLAN
of Captain Carvers Travels
in the interior Parts of
NORTH AMERICA
in 1766 and 1767.
Long. W. from London
Longitude West from London
British Miles 69½ to a Degree
LAKE DU BOIS
A large Band or Canton of the Chipeways live on these Lakes call'd by the French the Lake la Plue Savage
Lake la Plue or Rainy Lake
Lit. la Plue L.
denotes the Authors Travels
This Passage leads to Lake Winepeek and Hudsons Bay or the North West
The Grand Portage
This Country is possess'd by the Nipegon's Tribe
This Cataract is Cacarboofee
Michipicoten
Isle Royal
Mirepau Isle
LAKE SUPERIOUR
Bottom Bay
Stone Cross
Tommahawk R
Ponchartrain Isle
Round Isle
Phillipoux Isle
The 12 Apostles
WEST BAY
Little Bay
three Sisters
Hope Bay
Falls St. Marie
Point Chegomegan
The Indians inform me of this chain of Lakes but uncertain what communication they have with one another
The Country about here is full of Marshes and much drowned land
Red Lake R
This River joins the Assiniboils River a little above ye Place call'd Fort Lerain
Heads of Crigan
Red Lake
White Bear Lake
This is the Road of War between the Naudowessie and Assiniboils N.B. all Countries not possess'd by anyone Nation where War Parties are often passing is call'd by them the Road of War
These Branches are but little known
River St. Louis
Strawberry R
This Country is full of Lakes & Marshes
The Head Branches of the Missisippi are but little known the Indians seldom travel this way except War Parties
Little Branch
Marsh Lake
Lake R
Marshy R
Little Lake River
Goose Lake
Cold R
Goddard R
This vast Extent of Country is now possess'd by the Chipeways
about Plenty here is of Virgin Copper
Lake
Stargeon Lake
Copper Branch
THE CHIPEWAY TERRITORIES
Ft. Cadots
Fort Michillimackinac
Chipeway Village call'd the Rice Village
Chipeway Village
River St. Francis
Rum R
Village of the roving Chipeways
Main Branch
Vermilion R
NAUDOWESSIE OF THE PLAINS
About here the Author Winter'd in 1766
Carvers River
Falls of St. Anthony
Road of War between the Chipe way & Naudowessie
an Old Castle
Rufus R
The Traders go no farther than these falls
The Country of Naudowessie of the Plains from this place the Plains are and sandy supposed to extend to the South Sea
towards the Head of St. Pierre R
River St. Pierre Call'd by the Natives Wadapawmenesoter
Great Red R
Lake Pepin
Chipeway R
NAUDOWESSIE COUNTRY
OTTIGAUMIES LAND
Missisippi River
SAUKIES LAND
WINNEBAGO LAND
Menomonie Town
Green Bay
Bay of Noquet
Grand Travers
Cape Townsend
Ottowas Land
Fort la Bay
Menomonie Castle
French Vill.
Winnebago Town
Winnebago Lake
Fox River
Winnebaygo Upper Town
Carrying Place
LAKE MICHIGAN
OTTOWAS LAND
CHIPEWAYS LAND
LAKE HURON
Beaver I.
Fort St. Joseph
Pontowattomie Town
Red Marble R
Country of Peace
In these Mountains are large Quarries of Red Marble where the Neighboring Nations resort to get their Calumets of Peace
Bark River
This Country is on some Branches of the Missorie Possess'd by the Pawnees and a great Number of other Nations allies to the Spaniards
This is the Road of War between the Naudowessie & Pawnees & Illinois Nations
Yallow River
La Prairie la Chien
Lower Town
Upper Ottigaumie T.
Saukies Chief Town
Ouisconsin River
Lead Mines

A

JOURNAL OF THE TRAVELS,

WITH A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

COUNTRY, LAKES, &c.

IN June 1766, I ſet out from Boſton, and proceeded by way of Albany and Niagara, to Michillimackinac; a Fort ſituated between the Lakes Huron and Michigan, and diſtant from Boſton 1300 miles. This being the uttermoſt of our factories towards the north-weſt, I conſidered it as the moſt convenient place from whence I could begin my intended progreſs, and enter at once into the Regions I deſigned to explore.

Referring my Readers to the publications already extant for an Account of thoſe Parts of North America, that, from

lying adjacent to the Back-Settlements, have been frequently deſcribed, I ſhall confine myſelf to a Deſcription of the more interior parts of it, which having been but ſeldom viſited, are conſequently but little known. In doing this, I ſhall in no inſtance exceed the bounds of truth, or have recourſe to thoſe uſeleſs and extravagant exaggerations too often made uſe of by travellers, to excite the curioſity of the public, or to increaſe their own importance. Nor ſhall I inſert any obſervations, but ſuch as I have made myſelf, or, from the credibility of thoſe by whom they were related, am enabled to vouch for their authenticity.

Michillimackinac, from whence I began my travels, is a Fort compoſed of a ſtrong ſtockade, and is uſually defended by a garriſon of one hundred men. It contains about thirty houſes, one of which belongs to the governor, and another to the commiſſary. Several traders alſo dwell within its fortifications, who find it a convenient ſituation to traffic with the neighbouring nations. Michillimackinac, in the language of the Chi-

péway

péway Indians, ſignifies a Tortoiſe; and the place is ſuppoſed to receive its name from an Iſland, lying about ſix or ſeven miles to the north-eaſt, within ſight of the Fort, which has the appearance of that animal.

During the Indian war that followed ſoon after the Conqueſt of Canada in the year 1763, and which was carried on by an army of confederate nations compoſed of the Hurons, Miamies, Chipéways, Ottowaws, Pontowattimies, Miſſiſſauges, and ſome other tribes, under the direction of Pontiac, a celebrated Indian warrior, who had always been in the French intereſt, it was taken by ſurprize in the following manner: The Indians having ſettled their plan, drew near the Fort, and began a game at Ball, a paſtime much uſed among them, and not unlike tennis. In the height of their game, at which ſome of the Engliſh officers, not ſuſpecting any deceit, ſtood looking on, they ſtruck the ball, as if by accident, over the ſtockade; this they repeated two or three times, to make the deception more complete; till at length, having by this means lulled

every ſuſpicion of the centry at the ſouth gate, a party ruſhed by him ; and the reſt ſoon following, they took poſſeſſion of the Fort, without meeting with any oppoſition. Having accompliſhed their deſign, the Indians had the humanity to ſpare the lives of the greateſt part of the garriſon and traders, but they made them all priſoners, and carried them off. However ſome time after they took them to Montreal, where they were redeemed at a good price. The Fort alſo was given up again to the Engliſh at the peace made with Pontiac by the commander of Detroit the year following.

Having here made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for purſuing my travels, and obtained a credit from Mr. Rogers, the governor, on ſome Engliſh and Canadian traders who were going to trade on the Miſſiſſippi, and received alſo from him a promiſe of a freſh ſupply of goods when I reached the Falls of Saint Anthony, I left the Fort on the 3d of September, in company with theſe traders. It was agreed, that they ſhould furniſh me with ſuch goods as I might want, for

for preſents to the Indian chiefs, during my continuance with them, agreeable to the governor's order. But when I arrived at the extent of their route, I was to find other guides, and to depend on the goods the governor had promiſed to ſupply me with.

We accordingly ſet out together, and on the 18th arrived at Fort La Bay. This Fort is ſituated on the ſouthern extremity of a Bay in Lake Michigan, termed by the French the Bay of Puants; but which, ſince the Engliſh have gained poſſeſſion of all the ſettlements on this part of the Continent, is called by them the Green Bay. The reaſon of its being thus denominated, is from its appearance; for on leaving Michillimackinac in the ſpring ſeaſon, though the trees there have not even put forth their buds, yet you find the country around La Bay, notwithſtanding the paſſage has not exceeded fourteen days, covered with the fineſt verdure, and vegetation as forward as it could be were it ſummer.

This Fort, alſo, is only ſurrounded by a ſtockade, and being much decayed

is ſcarcely defenſible againſt ſmall arms. It was built by the French for the protection of their trade, ſome time before they were forced to relinquiſh it; and when Canada and its dependencies were ſurrendered to the Engliſh, it was immediately garriſoned with an officer and thirty men. Theſe were made priſoners by the Menomonies ſoon after the ſurpriſe of Michillimackinac, and the Fort has neither been garriſoned or kept in repair ſince.

The Bay is about ninety miles long, but differs much in its breadth; being in ſome places only fifteen miles, in others from twenty to thirty. It lies nearly from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt. At the entrance of it from the Lake are a ſtring of iſlands, extending from north to ſouth, called the Grand Traverſe. Theſe are about thirty miles in length, and ſerve to facilitate the paſſage of canoes, as they ſhelter them from the winds, which ſometimes come with violence acroſs the Lake. On the ſide that lies to the ſouth-eaſt is the neareſt and beſt navigation.

The

The iſlands of the Grand Traverſe are moſtly ſmall and rocky. Many of the rocks are of an amazing ſize, and appear as if they had been faſhioned by the hands of artiſts. On the largeſt and beſt of theſe iſlands ſtands a town of the Ottowaws, at which I found one of the moſt conſiderable chiefs of that nation, who received me with every honour he could poſſibly ſhow to a ſtranger. But what appeared extremely ſingular to me at the time, and muſt do ſo to every perſon unacquainted with the cuſtoms of the Indians, was the reception I met with on landing. As our canoes approached the ſhore, and had reached within about threeſcore rods of it, the Indians began a feu-de-joy; in which they fired their pieces loaded with balls; but at the ſame time they took care to diſcharge them in ſuch a manner, as to fly a few yards above our heads: during this they ran from one tree or ſtump to another, ſhouting and behaving as if they were in the heat of battle. At firſt I was greatly ſupriſed, and was on the point of ordering my attendants to return

their fire, concluding that their intentions were hoſtile; but being undeceived by ſome of the traders, who informed me that this was their uſual method of receiving the chiefs of other nations, I conſidered it in its true light, and was pleaſed with the reſpect thus paid me.

I remained here one night. Among the preſents I made the chiefs, were ſome ſpirituous liquors; with which they made themſelves merry, and all joined in a dance, that laſted the greateſt part of the night. In the morning when I departed, the chief attended me to the ſhore, and, as ſoon as I had embarked, offered up, in an audible voice, and with great ſolemnity, a fervent prayer in my behalf. He prayed "that the Great Spirit would favour me with a proſperous voyage; that he would give me an unclouded ſky, and ſmooth waters, by day, and that I might lie down, by night, on a beaver blanket, enjoying uninterrupted ſleep, and pleaſant dreams; and alſo that I might find continual protection under the great pipe of peace." In this manner he continued his

his petitions till I could no longer hear them.

I muſt here obſerve, that notwithſtanding the inhabitants of Europe are apt to entertain horrid ideas of the ferocity of theſe ſavages, as they are termed, I received from every tribe of them in the interior parts, the moſt hoſpitable and courteous treatment; and am convinced, that till they are contaminated by the example and ſpirituous liquors of their more refined neighbours, they retain this friendly and inoffenſive conduct towards ſtrangers. Their inveteracy and cruelty to their enemies I acknowledge to be a great abatement of the favourable opinion I would wiſh to entertain of them; but this failing is hereditary, and having received the ſanction of immemorial cuſtom, has taken too deep root in their minds to be ever extirpated.

Among this people I eat of a very uncommon kind of bread. The Indians, in general, uſe but little of this nutritious food: whilſt their corn is in the milk, as they term it, that is, juſt before it begins

gins to ripen, they ſlice off the kernels from the cob to which they grow, and knead them into a paſte. This they are enabled to do without the addition of any liquid, by the milk that flows from them; and when it is effected, they parcel it out into cakes, and incloſing them in leaves of the baſſwood tree, place them in hot embers, where they are ſoon baked. And better flavoured bread I never eat in any country.

This place is only a ſmall village containing about twenty-five houſes and ſixty or ſeventy warriors. I found nothing there worthy of further remark.

The land on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the Green Bay is but very indifferent, being overſpread with a heavy growth of hemlock, pine, ſpruce and fir trees. The communication between Lake Michigan and the Green Bay has been reported by ſome to be impracticable for the paſſage of any veſſels larger than canoes or boats, on account of the ſhoals that lie between the iſlands in the Grand Traverſe; but on ſounding it I found ſufficient depth for

for a veſſel of ſixty tons, and the breadth proportionable.

The land adjoining to the bottom of this Bay is very fertile, the country in general level, and the perſpective view of it pleaſing and extenſive.

A few families live in the Fort, which lies on the weſt-ſide of the Fox River, and oppoſite to it, on the eaſt ſide of its entrance, are ſome French ſettlers who cultivate the land, and appear to live very comfortably.

The Green Bay or Bay of Puants is one of thoſe places to which the French, as I have mentioned in the Introduction, have given nicknames. It is termed by the inhabitants of its coaſts, the Menomonie Bay; but why the French have denominated it the Puant or Stinking Bay I know not. The reaſon they themſelves give for it is, that it was not with a view to miſlead ſtrangers, but that by adopting this method they could converſe with each other, concerning the Indians, in their preſence, without being underſtood by them. For it was remarked by the perſons who firſt traded among them, that when they were ſpeaking to each other about

about them, and mentioned their proper name, they inſtantly grew ſuſpicious, and concluded that their viſiters were either ſpeaking ill of them, or plotting their deſtruction. To remedy this they gave them ſome other name. The only bad conſequence ariſing from the practice then introduced is, that Engliſh and French geographers, in their plans of the interior parts of America, give different names to the ſame people, and thereby perplex thoſe who have occaſion to refer to them.

Lake Michigan, of which the Green Bay is a part, is divided on the north-eaſt from Lake Huron by the Straits of Michillimackinac; and is ſituated between forty-two and forty-ſix degrees of latitude, and between eighty-four and eighty-ſeven degrees of weſt longitude. Its greateſt length is two hundred and eighty miles, its breadth about forty, and its circumference nearly ſix hundred. There is a remarkable ſtring of ſmall iſlands beginning over againſt Aſkin's Farm, and running about thirty miles ſouth-weſt into the Lake. Theſe are called the Beaver Iſlands. Their ſituation is very

pleaſant,

pleaſant, but the ſoil is bare. However they afford a beautiful proſpect.

On the north-weſt parts of this Lake the waters branch out into two bays. That which lies towards the north is the Bay of Noquets, and the other the Green Bay juſt deſcribed.

The waters of this as well as the other great Lakes are clear and wholeſome, and of ſufficient depth for the navigation of large ſhips. Half the ſpace of the country that lies to the eaſt, and extends to Lake Huron, belongs to the Ottowaw Indians. The line that divides their territories from the Chipéways, runs nearly north and ſouth, and reaches almoſt from the ſouthern extremity of this Lake, acroſs the high lands, to Michillimackinac, through the center of which it paſſes. So that when theſe two tribes happen to meet at the factory, they each encamp on their own dominions, at a few yards diſtance from the ſtockade.

The country adjacent either to the eaſt or weſt ſide of this lake is compoſed but of an indifferent ſoil, except where ſmall brooks or rivers empty themſelves into

into it; on the banks of theſe it is extremely fertile. Near the borders of the Lake grow a great number of ſand cherries, which are not leſs remarkable for their manner of growth, than for their exquiſite flavour. They grow upon a ſmall ſhrub not more than four feet high, the boughs of which are ſo loaded that they lie in cluſters on the ſand. As they grow only on the ſand, the warmth of which probably contributes to bring them to ſuch perfection, they are called by the French, cherries de ſable, or ſand cherries. The ſize of them does not exceed that of a ſmall muſket ball, but they are reckoned ſuperior to any other ſort for the purpoſe of ſteeping in ſpirits. There alſo grow around the Lake gooſeberries, black currants, and an abundance of juniper, bearing great quantities of berries of the fineſt ſort.

Sumack likewiſe grows here in great plenty; the leaf of which, gathered at Michaelmas when it turns red, is much eſteemed by the natives. They mix about an equal quantity of it with their tobacco, which cauſes it to ſmoke pleaſantly.

ſantly. Near this Lake, and indeed about all the great lakes, is found a kind of willow, termed by the French, bois rouge, in Engliſh red wood. Its bark, when only of one year's growth, is of a fine ſcarlet colour, and appears very beautiful; but as it grows older, it changes into a mixture of grey and red. The ſtalks of this ſhrub grow many of them together, and riſe to the height of ſix or eight feet, the largeſt not exceeding an inch diameter. The bark being ſcraped from the ſticks, and dried and powdered, is alſo mixed by the Indians with their tobacco, and is held by them in the higheſt eſtimation for their winter ſmoaking. A weed that grows near the great lakes, in rocky places, they uſe in the ſummer ſeaſon. It is called by the Indians, Segockimac, and creeps like a vine on the ground, ſometimes extending to eight or ten feet, and bearing a leaf about the ſize of a ſilver penny, nearly round; it is of the ſubſtance and colour of the laurel, and is, like the tree it reſembles, an evergreen. Theſe leaves, dried and powdered, they likewiſe mix with their tobacco;

tobacco; and, as ſaid before, ſmoak it only during the ſummer. By theſe three ſuccedaneums the pipes of the Indians are well ſupplied through every ſeaſon of the year; and as they are great ſmoakers, they are very careful in properly gathering and preparing them.

On the 20th of September I left the Green Bay, and proceeded up Fox River, ſtill in company with the traders and ſome Indians. On the 25th I arrived at the great town of the Winnebagoes, ſituated on a ſmall iſland juſt as you enter the eaſt end of Lake Winnebago. Here the queen who preſided over this tribe inſtead of a Sachem, received me with great civility, and entertained me in a very diſtinguiſhed manner, during the four days I continued with her.

The day after my arrival I held a council with the chiefs, of whom I aſked permiſſion to paſs through their country, in my way to more remote nations on buſineſs of importance. This was readily granted me, the requeſt being eſteemed by them as a great compliment paid to their tribe. The Queen ſat in the

the council, but only aſked a few queſtions, or gave ſome trifling directions in matters relative to the ſtate; for women are never allowed to ſit in their councils, except they happen to be inveſted with the ſupreme authority, and then it is not cuſtomary for them to make any formal ſpeeches as the chiefs do. She was a very ancient woman, ſmall in ſtature, and not much diſtinguiſhed by her dreſs from ſeveral young women that attended her. Theſe her attendants ſeemed greatly pleaſed whenever I ſhowed any tokens of reſpect to their queen, particularly when I ſaluted her, which I frequently did to acquire her favour. On theſe occaſions the good old lady endeavoured to aſſume a juvenile gaiety, and by her ſmiles ſhowed ſhe was equally pleaſed with the attention I paid her.

The time I tarried here, I employed in making the beſt obſervations poſſible on the country, and in collecting the moſt certain intelligence I could of the origin, language, and cuſtoms of this people. From theſe enquiries I have reaſon to conclude, that the Winnebagoes originally reſided in

ſome of the provinces belonging to New Mexico; and being driven from their native country, either by inteſtine diviſions, or by the extenſion of the Spaniſh conqueſts, they took refuge in theſe more northern parts about a century ago.

My reaſons for adopting this ſuppoſition, are, firſt from their unalienable attachment to the Naudoweſſie Indians (who, they ſay, gave them the earlieſt ſuccour during their emigration) notwithſtanding their preſent reſidence is more than ſix hundred miles diſtant from that people.

Secondly, that their dialect totally differs from every other Indian nation yet diſcovered; it being a very uncouth guttural jargon, which none of their neighbours will attempt to learn. They converſe with other nations in the Chipéway tongue, which is the prevailing language throughout all the tribes, from the Mohawks of Canada to thoſe who inhabit the borders of the Miſſiſſippi, and from the Hurons and Illinois to ſuch as dwell near Hudſon's Bay.

Thirdly, from their inveterate hatred to the Spaniards. Some of them informed

formed me that they had made many excuſions to the ſouth-weſt, which took up ſeveral moons. An elderly chief more particularly acquainted me, that about forty-ſix winters ago, he marched, at the head of fifty warriors, towards the ſouth-weſt, for three moons. That during this expedition, whilſt they were croſſing a plain, they diſcovered a body of men on horſeback, who belonged to the Black People; for ſo they call the Spaniards. As ſoon as they perceived them, they proceeded with caution, and concealed themſelves till night came on; when they drew ſo near as to be able to diſcern the number and ſituation of their enemies. Finding they were not able to cope with ſo great a ſuperiority by day-light, they waited till they had retired to reſt; when they ruſhed upon them, and, after having killed the greateſt part of the men, took eighty horſes loaded with what they termed white ſtone. This I ſuppoſe to have been ſilver, as he told me the horſes were ſhod with it, and that their bridles were ornamented with the ſame. When they had ſatiated their revenge, they car-

 ried

ried off their ſpoil, and being got ſo far as to be out of the reach of the Spaniards that had eſcaped their fury, they left the uſeleſs and ponderous burthen, with which the horſes were loaded, in the woods, and mounting themſelves, in this manner returned to their friends. The party they had thus defeated, I conclude to be the caravan that annually conveys to Mexico, the ſilver which the Spaniards find in great quantities on the mountains lying near the heads of the Coloredo River: and the plains where the attack was made, probably, ſome they were obliged to paſs over in their way to the heads of the River St. Fee, or Rio del Nord, which falls into the Gulph of Mexico to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi.

The Winnebagoes can raiſe about two hundred warriors. Their town contains about fifty houſes, which are ſtrongly built with paliſades, and the iſland on which it is ſituated nearly fifty acres. It lies thirty-five miles, reckoning according to the courſe of the river, from the Green Bay.

The River, for about four or five miles from the Bay, has a gentle current; after that

that ſpace, till you arrive at the Winnebago Lake, it is full of rocks and very rapaid. At many places we were obliged to land our canoes, and carry them a conſiderable way. Its breadth, in general, from the Green Bay to the Winnebago Lake, is between ſeventy and a hundred yards: the land on its borders very good, and thinly wooded with hickery, oak, and hazel.

The Winnebago Lake is about fifteen miles long from eaſt to weſt, and ſix miles wide. At its ſouth-eaſt corner, a river falls into it that takes its riſe near ſome of the northern branches of the Illinois River. This I called the Crocodile River, in conſequence of a ſtory that prevails among the Indians, of their having deſtroyed, in ſome part of it, an animal, which from their deſcription muſt be a crocodile or an alligator.

The land adjacent to the Lake is very fertile, abounding with grapes, plums, and other fruits, which grow ſpontaneouſly. The Winnebagoes raiſe on it a great quantity of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, ſquaſh, and water melons, with ſome tobacco. The Lake itſelf abounds with

fiſh, and in the fall of the year, with geeſe, ducks, and teal. The latter, which reſort to it in great numbers, are remarkably good and extremely fat, and are much better flavoured than thoſe that are found near the ſea, as they acquire their exceſſive fatneſs by feeding on the wild rice, which grow ſo plentifully in theſe parts.

Having made ſome acceptable preſents to the good old queen, and received her bleſſing, I left the town of the Winnebagoes on the 29th of September, and about twelve miles from it arrived at the place where the Fox River enters the Lake on the north ſide of it. We proceeded up this river, and on the 7th of October reached the great Carrying Place, which divides it from the Ouiſconſin.

The Fox River, from the Green Bay to the Carrying Place, is about one hundred and eighty miles. From the Winnebago Lake to the Carrying Place the current is gentle, and the depth of it conſiderable; notwithſtanding which, in ſome places it is with difficulty that canoes can paſs, through the obſtructions they meet with from the rice ſtalks, which are very large

large and thick, and grow here in great abundance. The country around it is very fertile and proper in the higheſt degree for cultivation, excepting in ſome places near the River, where it is rather too low. It is in no part very woody, and yet can ſupply ſufficient to anſwer the demands of any number of inhabitants. This river is the greateſt reſort for wild fowl of every kind that I met with in the whole courſe of my travels; frequently the ſun would be obſcured by them for ſome minutes together.

About forty miles up this river, from the great town of the Winnebagoes, ſtands a ſmaller town belonging to that nation.

Deer and bears are very numerous in theſe parts, and a great many beavers and other furs are taken on the ſtreams that empty themſelves into this river.

The River I am treating of, is remarkable for having been, about eighty years ago, the reſidence of the united bands of the Ottigaumies and the Saukies, whom the French had nicknamed, according to their wonted cuſtom, Des Sacs and Des Reynards, the Sacks and the Foxes, of

whom the following anecdote was related to me by an Indian.

About ſixty years ago, the French miſſionaries and traders having received many inſults from theſe people, a party of French and Indians under the command of Captain Morand marched to revenge their wrongs. The captain ſet out from the Green Bay in the winter, when they were unſuſpicious of a viſit of this kind, and purſuing his route over the ſnow to their villages, which lay about fifty miles up the Fox River, came upon them by ſurprize. Unprepared as they were, he found them an eaſy conqueſt, and conſequently killed or took priſoners the greateſt part of them. On the return of the French to the Green Bay, one of the Indian chiefs in alliance with them, who had a conſiderable band of the priſoners under his care, ſtopped to drink at a brook; in the mean time his companions went on: which being obſerved by one of the women whom they had made captive, ſhe ſuddenly ſeized him with both her hands, whilſt he ſtooped to drink, by an exquiſitely ſuſceptible part, and held him

him faſt till he expired on the ſpot. As the chief, from the extreme torture he ſuffered, was unable to call out to his friends, or to give any alarm, they paſſed on without knowing what had happened; and the woman having cut the bands of thoſe of her fellow priſoners who were in the rear, with them made her eſcape. This heroine was ever after treated by her nation as their deliverer, and made a chiefeſs in her own right, with liberty to entail the ſame honour on her deſcendants: an unuſual diſtinction, and permitted only on extraordinary occaſions.

About twelve miles before I reached the Carrying Place, I obſerved ſeveral ſmall mountains which extended quite to it. Theſe indeed would only be eſteemed as molehills when compared with thoſe on the back of the colonies, but as they were the firſt I had ſeen ſince my leaving Niagara, a track of nearly eleven hundred miles, I could not leave them unnoticed.

The Fox River, where it enters the Winnebago Lake, is about fifty yards wide, but it gradually decreaſes to the Carrying Place, where it is no more than

five

five yards over, except in a few places where it widens into ſmall lakes, though ſtill of a conſiderable depth. I cannot recollect any thing elſe that is remarkable in this River, except that it ſo ſerpentines for five miles, as only to gain in that place one quarter of a mile.

The Carrying Place between the Fox and Ouiſconſin Rivers is in breadth not more than a mile and three quarters, though in ſome maps it is ſo delineated as to appear to be ten miles. And here I cannot help remarking, that all the maps of theſe parts, I have ever ſeen, are very erroneous. The rivers in general are deſcribed as running in different directions from what they really do; and many branches of them, particularly of the Miſſiſſippi, omitted. The diſtances of places, likewiſe, are greatly miſrepreſented. Whether this is done by the French geographers (for the Engliſh maps are all copied from theirs) through deſign, or for want of a juſt knowledge of the country, I cannot ſay; but I am ſatisfied that travellers who depend upon them in the parts I viſited, will find themſelves much at a loſs.

loſs. Having ſurveyed with the greateſt care, every country through which I paſſed, I can aſſert that the plan prefixed to this work is drawn with much greater preciſion than any extant.

Near one half of the way, between the rivers, is a moraſs overgrown with a kind of long graſs, the reſt of it a plain, with ſome few oak and pine trees growing thereon. I obſerved here a great number of rattle-ſnakes. Monſ. Pinniſance, a French trader, told me a remarkable ſtory concerning one of theſe reptiles, of which he ſaid he was an eye-witneſs. An Indian, belonging to the Menomonie nation, having taken one of them, found means to tame it; and when he had done this, treated it as a Deity; calling it his Great Father, and carrying it with him in a box wherever he went. This the Indian had done for ſeveral ſummers, when Monſ. Pinniſance accidentally met with him at this Carrying Place, juſt as he was ſetting off for a winter's hunt. The French gentleman was ſurprized, one day, to ſee the Indian place the box which contained his god on the

the ground, and opening the door give him his liberty; telling him, whilſt he did it, to be ſure and return by the time he himſelf ſhould come back, which was to be in the month of May following. As this was but October, Monſieur told the Indian, whoſe ſimplicity aſtoniſhed him, that he fancied he might wait long enough when May arrived, for the arrival of his great father. The Indian was ſo confident of his creature's obedience, that he offered to lay the Frenchman a wager of two gallons of rum, that at the time appointed he would come and crawl into his box. This was agreed on, and the ſecond week in May following fixed for the determination of the wager. At that period they both met there again; when the Indian ſet down his box, and called for his great father. The ſnake heard him not; and the time being now expired, he acknowledged that he had loſt. However, without ſeeming to be diſcouraged, he offered to double the bett if his great father came not within two days more. This was further agreed on; when behold on the ſecond day, about one

one o'clock, the ſnake arrived, and, of his own accord, crawled into the box, which was placed ready for him. The French gentleman vouched for the truth of this ſtory, and from the accounts I have often received of the docility of thoſe creatures, I ſee no reaſon to doubt his veracity.

I obſerved that the main body of the Fox River came from the ſouth-weſt, that of the Ouiſconſin from the north-eaſt; and alſo that ſome of the ſmall branches of theſe two rivers, in deſcending into them, doubled, within a few feet of each other, a little to the ſouth of the Carrying Place. That two ſuch Rivers ſhould take their riſe ſo near each other, and after running ſuch different courſes, empty themſelves into the ſea at a diſtance ſo amazing (for the former having paſſed through ſeveral great lakes, and run upwards of two thouſand miles, falls into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other, after joining the Miſſiſſippi, and having run an equal number of miles, diſembogues itſelf into the Gulph of Mexico) is an inſtance ſcarcely to be met in the extenſive continent of North America.

America. I had an opportunity the year following, of making the ſame obſervations on the affinity of various head branches of the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Miſſiſſippi to each other; and now bring them as a proof, that the opinion of thoſe geographers, who aſſert, that rivers taking their riſe ſo near each other, muſt ſpring from the ſame ſource, is erroneous. For I perceived a viſibly diſtinct ſeparation in all of them, notwithſtanding, in ſome places, they approached ſo near, that I could have ſtepped from one to the other.

On the 8th of October we got our canoes into the Ouiſconſin River, which at this place is more than a hundred yards wide; and the next day arrived at the Great Town of the Saukies. This is the largeſt and beſt built Indian town I ever ſaw. It contains about ninety houſes, each large enough for ſeveral families. Theſe are built of hewn plank neatly jointed, and covered with bark ſo compactly as to keep out the moſt penetrating rains. Before the doors are placed comfortable ſheds, in which the inhabitants ſit, when the weather will permit, and ſmoak their pipes.

pipes. The ſtreets are regular and ſpacious; ſo that it appears more like a civilized town than the abode of ſavages. The land near the town is very good. In their plantations, which lie adjacent to their houſes, and which are neatly laid out, they raiſe great quantities of Indian corn, beans, melons, &c. ſo that this place is eſteemed the beſt market for traders to furniſh themſelves with proviſions, of any within eight hundred miles of it.

The Saukies can raiſe about three hundred warriors, who are generally employed every ſummer in making incurſions into the territories of the Illinois and Pawnee nations, from whence they return with a great number of ſlaves. But thoſe people frequently retaliate, and, in their turn, deſtroy many of the Saukies, which I judge to be the reaſon that they increaſe no faſter.

Whilſt I ſtaid here, I took a view of ſome mountains that lie about fifteen miles to the ſouthward, and abound in lead ore. I aſcended one of the higheſt of theſe, and had an extenſive view of the country. For many miles nothing was to be ſeen but leſſer mountains, which appeared at a diſtance like haycocks, they being free from

trees.

trees. Only a few groves of hickery, and ſtunted oaks, covered ſome of the vallies. So plentiful is lead here, that I ſaw large quantities of it lying about the ſtreets in the town belonging to the Saukies, and it ſeemed to be as good as the produce of other countries.

On the 10th of October we proceeded down the river, and the next day reached the firſt town of the Ottigaumies. This town contained about fifty houſes, but we found moſt of them deſerted, on account of an epidemical diſorder that had lately raged among them, and carried off more than one half of the inhabitants. The greater part of thoſe who ſurvived had retired into the woods, to avoid the contagion.

On the 15th we entered that extenſive river the Miſſiſſippi. The Ouiſconſin, from the Carrying Place to the part where it falls into the Miſſiſſippi, flows with a ſmooth but a ſtrong current; the water of it is exceedingly clear, and through it you may perceive a fine and ſandy bottom, tolerably free from rocks. In it are a few iſlands, the ſoil of which appeared to be good, though ſomewhat woody. The land near the river alſo

ſeemed

ſeemed to be, in general, excellent; but that at a diſtance is very full of mountains, where it is ſaid there are many lead mines.

About five miles from the junction of the rivers, I obſerved the ruins of a large town in a very pleaſing ſituation. On enquiring of the neighbouring Indians why it was thus deſerted, I was informed, that about thirty years ago, the Great Spirit had appeared on the top of a pyramid of rocks, which lay at a little diſtance from it, towards the weſt, and warned them to quit their habitations; for the land on which they were built belonged to him, and he had occaſion for it. As a proof that he, who gave them theſe orders, was really the Great Spirit, he further told them, that the graſs ſhould immediately ſpring up on thoſe very rocks from whence he now addreſſed them, which they knew to be bare and barren. The Indians obeyed, and ſoon after diſcovered that this miraculous alteration had taken place. They ſhewed me the ſpot, but the growth of the graſs appeared to be no ways ſupernatural. I apprehend this to have been a ſtratagem

of the French or Spaniards to anſwer ſome ſelfiſh view; but in what manner they effected their purpoſes I know not.

This people, ſoon after their removal, built a town on the bank of the Miſſiſſippi, near the mouth of the Ouiſconſin, at a place called by the French La Prairies les Chiens, which ſignifies the Dog Plains; it is a large town, and contains about three hundred families; the houſes are well built after the Indian manner, and pleaſantly ſituated on a very rich ſoil, from which they raiſe every neceſſary of life in great abundance. I ſaw here many horſes of a good ſize and ſhape. This town is the great mart, where all the adjacent tribes, and even thoſe who inhabit the moſt remote branches of the Miſſiſſippi, annually aſſemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to diſpoſe of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their ſale here; this is determined by a general council of the chiefs, who conſult whether it would be more conducive to their intereſt, to ſell their goods at this place, or carry them on to Louiſiana, or Michillimackinac. According to the deciſion

ciſion of this council they either proceed further, or return to their different homes.

The Miſſiſſippi, at the entrance of the Ouiſconſin, near which ſtands a mountain of conſiderable height, is about half a mile over; but oppoſite to the laſt mentioned town it appears to be more than a mile wide, and full of iſlands, the ſoil of which is extraordinary rich, and but thinly wooded.

A little farther to the weſt, on the contrary ſide, a ſmall river falls into the Miſſiſſippi, which the French call Le Jaun Riviere, or the Yellow River. Here the traders who had accompanied me hitherto, took up their reſidence for the winter. I then bought a canoe, and with two ſervants, one a French Canadian and the other a Mohawk of Canada, on the 19th proceeded up the Miſſiſſippi.

About ten days after I had parted from the traders, I landed as I uſually did every evening, and having pitched my tent, I ordered my men, when night came on, to lay themſelves down to ſleep. By a light that I kept burning I then ſat down to copy the minutes I had taken in the

courſe of the preceding day. About ten o'clock, having juſt finiſhed my memorandums, I ſtepped out of my tent to ſee what weather it was. As I caſt my eyes towards the bank of the river, I thought I ſaw by the light of the ſtars which ſhone bright, ſomething that had the appearance of a herd of beaſts coming down a deſcent at ſome diſtance; whilſt I was wondering what they could be, one of the number ſuddenly ſprung up and diſcovered to me the form of a man. In an inſtant they were all on their legs, and I could count about ten or twelve of them running towards me. I immediately reentered the tent, and awaking my men, ordered them to take their arms, and follow me. As my firſt apprehenſions were for my canoe, I ran to the water's ſide, and found a party of Indians (for ſuch I now diſcovered them to be) on the point of plundering it. Before I reached them I commanded my men not to fire till I had given the word, being unwilling to begin hoſtilities unleſs occaſion abſolutely required. I accordingly advanced with reſolution, cloſe to the points of their ſpears, they had no other weapons, and brandiſhing

brandiſhing my hanger, aſked them with a ſtern voice, what they wanted. They were ſtaggered at this, and perceiving they were like to meet with a warm reception, turned about and precipitately retreated. We purſued them to an adjacent wood, which they entered, and we ſaw no more of them. However, for fear of their return, we watched alternately during the remainder of the night. The next day my ſervants were under great apprehenſions, and earneſtly entreated me to return to the traders we had lately left. But I told them, that if they would not be eſteemed old women (a term of the greateſt reproach among the Indians) they muſt follow me; for I was determined to purſue my intended route, as an Engliſhman, when once engaged in an adventure, never retreated. On this they got into the canoe, and I walked on the ſhore to guard them from any further attack. The party of Indians who had thus intended to plunder me, I afterwards found to be ſome of thoſe ſtraggling bands, that having been driven from among the different tribes to which they belonged for various crimes,

now aſſociated themſelves together, and, living by plunder, prove very troubleſome to travellers who paſs this way; nor are even Indians of every tribe ſpared by them. The traders had before cautioned me to be upon my guard againſt them, and I would repeat the ſame caution to thoſe whoſe buſineſs might call them into theſe parts.

On the firſt of November I arrived at Lake Pepin, which is rather an extended part of the River Miſſiſſippi, that the French have thus denominated, about two hundred miles from the Ouiſconſin. The Miſſiſſippi below this Lake flows with a gentle current, but the breadth of it is very uncertain, in ſome places it being upwards of a mile, in others not more than a quarter. This River has a range of mountains on each ſide throughout the whole of the way; which in particular parts approach near to it, in others lie at a greater diſtance. The land betwixt the mountains, and on their ſides, is generally covered with graſs with a few groves of trees interſperſed, near which large droves of deer and elk are frequently ſeen feeding. In many

many places pyramids of rocks appeared, reſembling old ruinous towers; at others amazing precipices; and what is very remarkable, whilſt this ſcene preſented itſelf on one ſide, the oppoſite ſide of the ſame mountain was covered with the fineſt herbage, which gradually aſcended to its ſummit. From thence the moſt beautiful and extenſive proſpect that imagination can form opens to your view. Verdant plains, fruitful meadows, numerous iſlands, and all theſe abounding with a variety of trees that yield amazing quantities of fruit, without care or cultivation, ſuch as the nut-tree, the maple which produces ſugar, vines loaded with rich grapes, and plum-trees bending under their blooming burdens, but above all, the fine River flowing gently beneath, and reaching as far as the eye can extend, by turns attract your admiration and excite your wonder.

The Lake is about twenty miles long and near ſix in breadth; in ſome places it is very deep, and abounds with various kinds of fiſh. Great numbers of fowl frequent alſo this Lake and rivers adjacent, ſuch as ſtorks, ſwans, geeſe, brants, and

ducks: and in the groves are found great plenty of turkeys and partridges. On the plains are the largeſt buffaloes of any in America. Here I obſerved the ruins of a French factory, where it is ſaid Captain St. Pierre reſided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudoweſſies, before the reduction of Canada.

About ſixty miles below this Lake is a mountain remarkably ſituated; for it ſtands by itſelf exactly in the middle of the River, and looks as if it had ſlidden from the adjacent ſhore into the ſtream. It cannot be termed an iſland, as it riſes immediately from the brink of the water to a conſiderable height. Both the Indians and the French call it the Mountain in the River.

One day having landed on the ſhore of the Miſſiſſippi, ſome miles below Lake Pepin, whilſt my attendants were preparing my dinner, I walked out to take a view of the adjacent country. I had not proceeded far, before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived at a little diſtance, a partial elevation that had the appearance of an intrenchment. On a nearer inſpection I had

had greater reaſon to ſuppoſe that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithſtanding it was now covered with graſs, I could plainly diſcern that it had once been a breaſt-work of about four feet in height, extending the beſt part of a mile, and ſufficiently capacious to cover five thouſand men. Its form was ſomewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the River. Though much defaced by time, every angle was diſtinguiſhable, and appeared as regular, and faſhioned with as much military ſkill, as if planned by Vauban himſelf. The ditch was not viſible, but I thought on examining more curiouſly, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its ſituation alſo, I am convinced that it muſt have been deſigned for this purpoſe. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the River; nor was there any riſing ground for a conſiderable way that commanded it; a few ſtraggling oaks were alone to be ſeen near it. In many places ſmall tracks were worn acroſs it by the feet of the elks and deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw

certain

certain concluſions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myſelf ſince, for not encamping on the ſpot, and drawing an exact plan of it. To ſhew that this deſcription is not the offſpring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical tale of a miſtaken traveller, I find on enquiry ſince my return, that Monſ. St. Pierre and ſeveral traders have, at different times, taken notice of ſimilar appearances, on which they have formed the ſame conjectures, but without examining them ſo minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exiſt in a country that has hitherto (according to the general received opinion) been the ſeat of war to untutored Indians alone, whoſe whole ſtock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whoſe only breaſt-work even at preſent is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as poſſible of this ſingular appearance, and leave to future explorers of theſe diſtant regions to diſcover whether it is a production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here

here given might lead to a more perfect inveſtigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient ſtate of realms that we at preſent believe to have been from the earlieſt period only the habitations of ſavages.

The Miſſiſſippi, as far as the entrance of the River St. Croix, thirty miles above Lake Pepin, is very full of iſlands; ſome of which are of a conſiderable length. On theſe, alſo, grow great numbers of the maple or ſugar tree, and around them vines loaded with grapes creeping to their very tops. From the Lake upwards few mountains are to be ſeen, and thoſe but ſmall. Near the River St. Croix reſide three bands of the Nawdoweſſie Indians, called the River Bands.

This nation is compoſed, at preſent, of eleven bands. They were originally twelve; but the Aſſinipoils ſome years ago revolting, and ſeparating themſelves from the others, there remain only at this time eleven. Thoſe I met here are termed the River Bands; becauſe they chiefly dwell near the banks of this River: the other eight are generally diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed by the title of the Naudoweſſies of the Plains, and inhabit a country that lies more to the weſtward. The names of the former are the Nehogatawonahs, the Mawtawbauntowahs, and the Shahſweentowahs, and conſiſt of about four hundred warriors.

A little before I met with theſe three bands I fell in with a party of the Mawtawbauntowahs, amounting to forty warriors and their families. With theſe I reſided a day or two, during which time five or ſix of their number, who had been out on an excurſion, returned in great haſte, and acquainted their companions that a large party of the Chipéway warriors, "enough," as they expreſſed themſelves, "to ſwallow them all up," were cloſe at their heels, and on the point of attacking their little camp. The chiefs applied to me, and deſired I would put myſelf at their head, and lead them out to oppoſe their enemies. As I was a ſtranger, and unwilling to excite the anger of either nation, I knew not how to act; and never found myſelf in a greater dilemma. Had I refuſed to aſſiſt the Naudoweſſies I ſhould have drawn on myſelf

myſelf their diſpleaſure, or had I met the Chipéways with hoſtile intentions, I ſhould have made that people my foes, and had I been fortunate enough to have eſcaped their arrows at this time, on ſome future occaſion ſhould probably have experienced the ſeverity of their revenge. In this extremity I choſe the middle courſe, and deſired that the Naudoweſſies would ſuffer me to meet them, that I might endeavour to avert their fury. To this they reluctantly aſſented, being perſuaded, from the inveteracy which had long prevailed between them, that my remonſtrances would be in vain.

Taking my Frenchman with me, who could ſpeak their language, I haſtened towards the place where the Chipéways were ſuppoſed to be. The Naudoweſſies during this kept at a diſtance behind. As I approached them with the pipe of peace, a ſmall party of their chiefs, conſiſting of about eight or ten, came in a friendly manner towards me; with whom, by means of my interpreter, I held a long converſation; the reſult of which was, that their rancour being by my perſuaſions in ſome meaſure mollified, they

agreed

agreed to return back without accompliſhing their ſavage purpoſes. During our diſcourſe I could perceive, as they lay ſcattered about, that the party was very numerous, and many of them armed with muſkets.

Having happily ſucceeded in my undertaking, I returned without delay to the Naudoweſſies, and deſired they would inſtantly remove their camp to ſome other part of the country, leſt their enemies ſhould repent of the promiſe they had given, and put their intentions in execution. They accordingly followed my advice, and immediately prepared to ſtrike their tents. Whilſt they were doing this they loaded me with thanks; and when I had ſeen them on board their canoes I purſued my route.

To this adventure I was chiefly indebted for the friendly reception I afterwards met with from the Naudoweſſies of the Plains, and for the reſpect and honours I received during my abode among them. And when I arrived many months after at the Chipéway village, near the Ottowaw lakes, I found that my fame had reached that place before me. The chiefs

received

recived me with great cordiality, and the elder part of them thanked me for the miſchief I had prevented. They informed me, that the war between their nation and the Naudoweſſies had continued without interruption for more than forty winters. That they had long wiſhed to put an end to it, but this was generally prevented by the young warriors of either nation, who could not reſtrain their ardour when they met. They ſaid, they ſhould be happy if ſome chief of the ſame pacific diſpoſition as myſelf, and who poſſeſſed an equal degree of reſolution and coolneſs, would ſettle in the country between the two nations; for by the interference of ſuch a perſon an accommodation, which on their parts they ſincerely deſired, might be brought about. As I did not meet any of the Naudoweſſies afterwards, I had not an opportunity of forwarding ſo good a work.

About thirty miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth day after I left left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakon-teebe, that is, the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance

entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high and about thirty feet broad. The bottom of it conſiſts of fine clear ſand. About twenty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is tranſparent, and extends to an unſearchable diſtance; for the darkneſs of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a ſmall pebble towards the interior parts of it with my utmoſt ſtrength: I could hear that it fell into the water, and notwithſtanding it was of ſo ſmall a ſize, it cauſed an aſtoniſhing and horrible noiſe that reverberated through all thoſe gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphicks, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moſs, ſo that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inſide of the walls, which were compoſed of a ſtone ſo extremely ſoft that it might be eaſily penetrated with a knife: a ſtone every where to be found near the Miſſiſſippi. The cave is only acceſſible by

by aſcending a narrow, ſteep paſſage that lies near the brink of the river.

At a little diſtance from this dreary cavern is the burying-place of ſeveral bands of the Naudoweſſie Indians: though theſe people have no fixed reſidence, living in tents, and abiding but a few months on one ſpot, yet they always bring the bones of their dead to this place; which they take the opportunity of doing when the chiefs meet to hold their councils, and to ſettle all public affairs for the enſuing ſummer.

Ten miles below the Falls of St. Anthony the River St. Pierre, called by the natives the Waddapawmeneſotor, falls into the Miſſiſſippi from the weſt. It is not mentioned by Father Hennipin, although a large fair river: this omiſſion, I conclude, muſt have proceeded from a ſmall iſland that is ſituated exactly at its entrance, by which the ſight of it is intercepted. I ſhould not have diſcovered this river myſelf, had I not taken a view, when I was ſearching for it, from the high lands oppoſite, which riſe to a great height.

Nearly over againſt this river I was obliged to leave my canoe, on account of the ice, and travel by land to the Falls of St. Anthony, where I arrived on the 17th of November. The Miſſiſſippi from the St. Pierre to this place is rather more rapid than I had hitherto found it, and without iſlands of any conſideration.

Before I left my canoe I overtook a young prince of the Winnebago Indians, who was going on an embaſſy to ſome of the bands of the Naudoweſſies. Finding that I intended to take a view of the Falls, he agreed to accompany me, his curioſity having been often excited by the accounts he had received from ſome of his chiefs: he accordingly left his family (for the Indians never travel without their houſeholds) at this place, under the care of my Mohawk ſervant, and we proceeded together by land, attended only by my Frenchman, to this celebrated place.

We could diſtinctly hear the noiſe of the water full fifteen miles before we reached the Falls; and I was greatly pleaſed and ſurprized, when I approached this aſtoniſhing work of nature: but I was not long at liberty to indulge theſe emotions,

tions, my attention being called off by the behaviour of my companion.

The prince had no ſooner gained the point that overlooks this wonderful caſcade, than he began with an audible voice to addreſs the Great Spirit, one of whoſe places of reſidence he imagined this to be. He told him that he had come a long way to pay his adorations to him, and now would make him the beſt offerings in his power. He accordingly firſt threw his pipe into the ſtream; then the roll that contained his tobacco; after theſe, the bracelets he wore on his arms and wriſts; next an ornament that encircled his neck, compoſed of beads and wires; and at laſt the ear-rings from his ears; in ſhort, he preſented to his god every part of his dreſs that was valuable: during this he frequently ſmote his breaſt with great violence, threw his arms about, and appeared to be much agitated.

All this while he continued his adorations, and at length concluded them with fervent petitions that the Great Spirit would conſtantly afford us his protection on our travels, giving us a bright ſun, a blue ſky, and clear untroubled waters: nor would he

leave the place till we had ſmoaked together with my pipe in honour of the Great Spirit.

I was greatly ſurprized at beholding an inſtance of ſuch elevated devotion in ſo young an Indian, and inſtead of ridiculing the ceremonies attending it, as I obſerved my catholic ſervant tacitly did, I looked on the prince with a greater degree of reſpect for theſe ſincere proofs he gave of his piety; and I doubt not but that his offerings and prayers were as acceptable to the univerſal Parent of mankind, as if they had been made with greater pomp, or in a conſecrated place.

Indeed, the whole conduct of this young prince at once amazed and charmed me. During the few days we were together his attention ſeemed totally to be employed in yielding me every aſſiſtance in his power; and even in ſo ſhort a time he gave me innumerable proofs of the moſt generous and diſintereſted friendſhip; ſo that on our return I parted from him with great reluctance. Whilſt I beheld the artleſs, yet engaging manners of this unpoliſhed ſavage, I could not help drawing a compariſon between him and ſome of the more refined

refined inhabitants of civilized countries, not much, I own, in favour of the latter.

The Falls of St. Anthony received their name from Father Louis Hennipin, a French miſſionary, who travelled into theſe parts about the year 1680, and was the firſt European ever ſeen by the natives. This amazing body of waters, which are above 250 yards over, form a moſt pleaſing cataract; they fall perpendicularly about thirty feet, and the rapids below, in the ſpace of 300 yards more, render the deſcent conſiderably greater; ſo that when viewed at a diſtance they appear to be much higher than they really are. The above-mentioned traveller has laid them down at above ſixty feet; but he has made a greater error in calculating the height of the Falls of Niagara; which he aſſerts to be 600 feet; whereas from latter obſervations accurately made, it is well known that it does not exceed 140 feet. But the good father I fear too often had no other foundation for his accounts than report, or, at beſt, a ſlight inſpection.

In the middle of the Falls ſtands a ſmall iſland, about forty feet broad and

ſomewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and ſpruce trees; and about half way between this iſland and the eaſtern ſhore is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Fall, in an oblique poſition, that appeared to be about five or ſix feet broad, and thirty or forty long. Theſe Falls vary much from all the others I have ſeen, as you may approach cloſe to them without finding the leaſt obſtruction from any intervening hill or precipice.

The country around them is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain where the eye finds no relief, but compoſed of many gentle aſcents, which in the ſummer are covered with the fineſt verdure, and interſperſed with little groves, that give a pleaſing variety to the proſpect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be ſeen at the diſtance of four miles, a more pleaſing and pictureſque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the univerſe. I could have wiſhed that I had happened to enjoy this glorious ſight at a more ſeaſonable time of the year, whilſt the trees and hillocks were clad in nature's gayeſt livery, as this muſt have greatly added to the pleaſure I received;

Surveyd by Capt. Carver, Nov. 17, 1766.

M. A. Rocker Sculpt.

The falls of St. Anthony *in the River* MISSISSIPPI,

Height of the Fall 30 feet Perpendr.

near 2400 Miles from its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico.

Breadth, near 600 feet.

ceived; however, even then it exceeded my warmeſt expectations. I have endeavoured to give the Reader as juſt an idea of this enchanting ſpot as poſſible, in the plan annexed; but all deſcription, whether of the pencil or the pen, muſt fall infinitely ſhort of the original.

At a little diſtance below the Falls ſtands a ſmall iſland, of about an acre and half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, every branch of which, able to ſupport the weight, was full of eagles neſts. The reaſon that this kind of birds reſort in ſuch numbers to this ſpot, is that they are here ſecure from the attacks either of man or beaſt, their retreat being guarded by the Rapids, which the Indians never attempt to paſs. Another reaſon is, that they find a conſtant ſupply of food for themſelves and their young, from the animals and fiſh which are daſhed to pieces by the Falls, and driven on the adjacent ſhore.

Having ſatisfied my curioſity, as far as the eye of man can be ſatisfied, I proceeded on, ſtill accompanied by my young friend, till I had reached the River St. Francis, near ſixty miles above the Falls.

To this river Father Hennipin gave the name of St. Francis, and this was the extent of his travels, as well as mine, towards the north-weſt. As the ſeaſon was ſo advanced, and the weather extremely cold, I was not able to make ſo many obſervations on theſe parts as I otherwiſe ſhould have done.

It might however, perhaps, be neceſſary to obſerve, that in the little tour I made about the Falls, after travelling fourteen miles, by the ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, I came to a river nearly twenty yards wide, which ran from the north-eaſt, called Rum River. And on the 20th of November came to another termed Gooſe River, about twelve yards wide. On the 21ſt I arrived at the St. Francis, which is about thirty yards wide. Here the Miſſiſſippi itſelf grows narrow, being not more than ninety yards over; and appears to be chiefly compoſed of ſmall branches. The ice prevented me from noticing the depth of any of theſe three rivers.

The country in ſome places is hilly, but without large mountains; and the land is tolerably good. I obſerved here many deer and carribboos, ſome elk, with abundance

dance of beavers, otters, and other furs. A little above this, to the north-eaſt, are a number of ſmall lakes called the Thouſand Lakes; the parts about which, though but little frequented, are the beſt within many miles for hunting, as the hunter never fails of returning loaded beyond his expectations.

The Miſſiſſippi has never been explored higher up than the River St. Francis, and only by Father Hennipin and myſelf thus far. So that we are obliged ſolely to the Indians, for all the intelligence we are able to give relative to the more northern parts. As this River is not navigable from the ſea for veſſels of any conſiderable burthen, much higher up than the Forks of the Ohio, and even that is accompliſhed with great difficulty, owing to the rapidity of the current, and the windings of the river, thoſe ſettlements that may be made on the interior branches of it, muſt be indiſputably ſecure from the attacks of any maritime power. But at the ſame time the ſettlers will have the advantage of being able to convey their produce to the ſea-ports with great facility, the current of the river from its

ſource

ſource to its entrance into the Gulph of Mexico, being extremely favourable for doing this in ſmall craft. This might alſo in time be facilitated by canals or ſhorter cuts; and a communication opened by water with New York, Canada, &c. by way of the lakes. The Forks of the Ohio are about nine hundred miles from the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, following the courſe of the river; and the Meſſorie two hundred miles above theſe. From the latter it is about twenty miles to the Illinois River, and from that to the Ouiſconſin, which I have given an account of, about eight hundred more.

On the 25th I returned to my canoe, which I had left at the mouth of the River St. Pierre; and here I parted with regret from my young friend the prince of the Winnebagoes. This river being clear of ice by reaſon of its ſouthern ſituation, I found nothing to obſtruct my paſſage. On the 28th, being advanced about forty miles, I arrived at a ſmall branch that fell into it from the north; to which, as it had no name that I could diſtinguiſh it by, I gave my own; and the Reader will find it in the plan of my travels

travels denominated Carver's River. About forty miles higher up I came to the Forks of Verd and Red Marble Rivers, which join at ſome little diſtance before they enter the St. Pierre.

The River St. Pierre, at its junction with the Miſſiſſippi, is about a hundred yards broad, and continues that breadth nearly all the way I ſailed upon it. It has a great depth of water, and in ſome places runs very briſkly. About fifty miles from its mouth are ſome rapids, and much higher up there are many others.

I proceeded up this river about two hundred miles to the country of the Naudoweſſies of the Plains, which lies a little above the Forks formed by the Verd and Red Marble Rivers, juſt mentioned, where a branch from the ſouth nearly joins the Meſſorie River. By the accounts I received from the Indians, I have reaſon to believe that the River St. Pierre and the Meſſorie, though they enter the Miſſiſſippi twelve hundred miles from each other, take their riſe in the ſame neighbourhood; and this within the ſpace of a mile. The River St. Pierre's northern branch riſes from a number of lakes near the

the ſhining mountains; and it is from ſome of theſe, alſo, that a capital branch of the River Bourbon, which runs into Hudſon's Bay, has its ſources

From the intelligence I gained from the Naudoweſſie Indians, among whom I arrived the 7th of December, and whoſe language I perfectly acquired during a reſidence of five months; and alſo from the accounts I afterwards obtained from the Aſſinipoils, who ſpeak the ſame tongue, being a revolted band of the Naudoweſſies; and from the Killiſtinoes, neighbours of the Aſſinipoils, who ſpeak the Chipéway language, and inhabit the heads of the River Bourbon; I ſay from theſe nations, together with my own obſervations, I have learned that the four moſt capital rivers on the Continent of North America, viz. the St. Lawrence, the Miſſiſſippi, the River Bourbon, and the Oregon or the River of the Weſt (as I hinted in my Introduction) have their ſources in the ſame neighbourhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther weſt.

This

This ſhews that theſe parts are the higheſt lands in North America; and it is an inſtance not to be paralleled on the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of ſuch magnitude ſhould take their riſe together, and each, after running ſeparate courſes, diſcharge their waters into different oceans at the diſtance of two thouſand miles from their ſources. For in their paſſage from this ſpot to the bay of St. Lawrence, eaſt, to the bay of Mexico, ſouth, to Hudſon's Bay, north, and to the bay at the Straights of Annian, weſt, each of theſe traverſe upwards of two thouſand miles.

I ſhall here give my Readers ſuch reflections as occurred to me, when I had received this intereſting information, and had, by numberleſs inquiries, aſcertained the truth of it; that is, as far as it was poſſible to arrive at a certainty without a perſonal inveſtigation.

It is well known that the Colonies, particularly thoſe of New England and Canada, are greatly affected, about the time their winter ſets in, by a north-weſt wind, which continues for ſeveral months, and renders the cold much more intenſe

there

there than it is in the interior parts of America. This I can, from my own knowledge, aſſert, as I found the winter, that I paſſed to the weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi, far from ſevere; and the north-weſt wind blowing on thoſe countries conſiderably more temperate than I have often experienced it to be nearer the coaſt. And that this did not ariſe from an uncertainty of the ſeaſons, but was annually the caſe, I conclude, both from the ſmall quantity of ſnow that then fell, and a total diſuſe of ſnow ſhoes by theſe Indians, without which none of the more eaſtern nations can poſſibly travel during the winter.

As naturaliſts obſerve, that air reſembles water in many reſpects, particularly by often flowing in a compact body; and that this is generally remarked to be with the current of large ſtreams, and ſeldom acroſs them, may not the winds that ſet violently into the Bay of Mexico about the latter end of the year, take their courſe over the continent in the ſame direction as the Miſſiſſippi does; till meeting with the north winds (that from a ſimilar cauſe blow up the Bourbon from Hudſon's

ſon's Bay) they are forced acroſs the great lakes, down the current of the waters of the St. Lawrence, and united, commit thoſe ravages, and occaſion thoſe ſevere winters, experienced in the beforementioned countries? During their progreſs over the lakes they become expanded, and conſequently affect a greater tract of land than they otherwiſe would do.

According to my ſcanty knowledge of natural philoſophy this does not appear improbable. Whether it is agreeable to the laws eſtabliſhed by naturaliſts to account for the operations of that element, I know not. However, the deſcription here given of the ſituation of theſe vaſt bodies of water, and their near approach to each other, with my own undigeſted ſuppoſitions of their effect on the winds, may prove perhaps, in abler hands, the means of leading to many uſeful diſcoveries.

On the 7th of December, I arrived (as I ſaid before) at the utmoſt extent of my travels towards the weſt; where I met with a large party of the Naudoweſſie Indians, among whom I reſided ſeven months. Theſe conſtituted a part of the

eight

eight bands of the Naudoweſſies of the Plains; and are termed the Wawpeentowahs, the Tintons, the Aſrahcootans, the Mawhaws, and the Schians. The other three bands, whoſe names are the Schianeſe, the Chongouſceton, and the Waddapawjeſtin, dwell higher up, to the weſt of the River St. Pierre, on plains that, according to their account, are unbounded; and probably terminate on the coaſt of the Pacific Ocean. The Naudoweſſie nation, when united, conſiſts of more than two thouſand warriors. The Aſſinipoils, who revolted from them, amount to about three hundred; and leagued with the Killiſtinoes, live in a continual ſtate of enmity with the other eleven bands.

As I proceeded up the River St. Pierre, and had nearly reached the place where theſe people were encamped, I obſerved two or three canoes coming down the ſtream; but no ſooner had the Indians that were on board them diſcovered us, than they rowed toward the land, and leaping aſhore with precipitation, left their canoes to float as the current drove them. In a few minutes I perceived

ſome

ſome others; who, as ſoon as they came in ſight, followed, with equal ſpeed, the example of their countrymen.

I now thought it neceſſary to proceed with caution; and therefore kept on the ſide of the river oppoſite to that on which the Indians had landed. However, I ſtill continued my courſe, ſatiſfied that the pipe of Peace which was fixed at the head of my canoe, and the Engliſh colours that were flying at the ſtern, would prove my ſecurity. After rowing about half a mile farther, in turning a point, I diſcovered a great number of tents, and more than a thouſand Indians, at a little diſtance from the ſhore. Being now nearly oppoſite to them, I ordered my men to pull directly over, as I was willing to convince the Indians by ſuch a ſtep, that I placed ſome confidence in them.

As ſoon as I had reached the land, two of the chiefs preſented their hands to me, and led me, amidſt the aſtoniſhed multitude, who had moſt of them never ſeen a white man before, to a tent. Into this we entered, and according to the cuſtom that univerſally prevails among every In-

dian nation, began to ſmoke the pipe of Peace. We had not ſat long before the crowd became ſo great, both around, and upon the tent, that we were in danger of being cruſhed by its fall. On this we returned to the plain, where, having gratified the curioſity of the common people, their wonder abated, and ever after they treated me with great reſpect.

From the chiefs I met with the moſt friendly and hoſpitable reception; which induced me, as the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, to take up my reſidence among them during the winter. To render my ſtay as comfortable as poſſible, I firſt endeavoured to learn their language. This I ſoon did, ſo as to make myſelf perfectly intelligible, having before acquired ſome ſlight knowledge of the language of thoſe Indians that live on the back of the ſettlements; and in conſequence met with every accommodation their manner of living would afford. Nor did I want for ſuch amuſements as tended to make ſo long a period paſs cheerfully away. I frequently hunted with them; and at other times beheld with pleaſure their recreations and paſtimes, which I ſhall deſcribe hereafter.

Some-

Sometimes I ſat with the chiefs, and whilſt we ſmoked the friendly pipe, entertained them, in return for the accounts they gave me of their wars and excurſions, with a narrative of my own adventures and a deſcription of all the battles fought between the Engliſh and the French in America, in many of which I had a perſonal ſhare. They always paid great attention to my details, and aſked many pertinent queſtions relative to the European methods of making war.

I held theſe converſations with them in a great meaſure to procure from them ſome information relative to the chief point I had conſtantly in view, that of gaining a knowledge of the ſituation and produce, both of their own country, and thoſe that lay to the weſtward of them. Nor was I diſappointed in my deſigns; for I procured from them much uſeful intelligence. They likewiſe drew for me plans of all the countries with which they were acquainted; but as I entertained no great opinion of their geographical knowledge, I placed not much dependence on them, and therefore think it unneceſſary to give them to the public.

Such as I afterwards found confirmed, by other accounts, or by my own obſervations, make a part of the map prefixed to this work. They draw with a piece of burnt coal, taken from the hearth, upon the inſide bark of the birch tree; which is as ſmooth as paper, and anſwers the ſame purpoſes, notwithſtanding it is of a yellow caſt. Their ſketches are made in a rude manner, but they ſeem to give as juſt an idea of a country, although the plan is not ſo exact, as more experienced draughtſmen could do.

I left the habitations of theſe hoſpitable Indians the latter end of April 1767; but did not part from them for ſeveral days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them, among whom were many chiefs, to the mouth of the River St. Pierre. At this ſeaſon, theſe bands annually go to the Great Cave, before mentioned, to hold a grand council with all the other bands; wherein they ſettle their operations for the enſuing year. At the ſame time they carry with them their dead for interment bound up in buffaloes ſkins. Beſides thoſe that accompanied

panied me, others were gone before, and the reſt were to follow.

Never did I travel with ſo cheerful and happy a company. But their mirth met with a ſudden and temporary allay from a violent ſtorm that overtook us one day on our paſſage. We had juſt landed, and were preparing to ſet up our tents for the night, when a heavy cloud overſpread the heavens, and the moſt dreadful thunder, lightning, and rain iſſued from it, that ever I beheld.

The Indians were greatly terrified, and ran to ſuch ſhelter as they could find; for only a few tents were as yet erected. Apprehenſive of the danger that might enſue from ſtanding near any thing which could ſerve for a conductor, as the cloud appeared to contain ſuch an uncommon quantity of the electrical fluid, I took my ſtand as far as poſſible from any covering; chuſing rather to be expoſed to the peltings of the ſtorm than to receive a fatal ſtroke. At this the Indians were greatly ſurprized, and drew concluſions from it not unfavourable to the opinion they already entertained of my reſolution. Yet I acknowledge that I was never more

affected in my life; for nothing ſcarcely could exceed the terrific ſcene. The peals of thunder were ſo loud that they ſhook the earth; and the lightning flaſhed along the ground in ſtreams of ſulphur; ſo that the Indian chiefs themſelves, although their courage in war is uſually invincible, could not help trembling at the horrid combuſtion. As ſoon as the ſtorm was over, they flocked around me, and informed me, that it was a proof of the anger of the evil ſpirits, whom they were apprehenſive that they had highly offended.

When we arrived at the Great Cave, and the Indians had depoſited the remains of their deceaſed friends in the burial-place that ſtands adjacent to it, they held their great council, into which I was admitted, and at the ſame time had the honour to be inſtalled or adopted a chief of their bands. On this occaſion I made the following ſpeech, which I inſert to give my Readers a ſpecimen of the language and manner in which it is neceſſary to addreſs the Indians, ſo as to engage their attention, and to render the ſpeaker's expreſſions conſonant to their ideas.

ideas. It was delivered on the firſt day of May 1767.

" My brothers, chiefs of the nume-
" rous and powerful Naudoweſſies! I re-
" joice that through my long abode with
" you, I can now ſpeak to you (though
" after an imperfect manner) in your
" own tongue, like one of your own
" children. I rejoice alſo that I have
" had an opportunity ſo frequently to in-
" form you of the glory and power of
" the Great King that reigns over the
" Engliſh and other nations; who is de-
" ſcended from a very ancient race of
" ſovereigns, as old as the earth and wa-
" ters; whoſe feet ſtand on two great
" iſlands, larger than any you have ever
" ſeen, amidſt the greateſt waters in the
" world; whoſe head reaches to the ſun,
" and whoſe arms encircle the whole
" earth. The number of whoſe warriors
" are equal to the trees in the vallies,
" the ſtalks of rice in yonder marſhes,
" or the blades of graſs on your great
" plains. Who has hundreds of canoes of
" his own, of ſuch amazing bigneſs, that
" all the waters in your country would
" not ſuffice for one of them to ſwim

" in; each of which have guns, not " ſmall like mine which you ſee before " you, but of ſuch magnitude, that a " hundred of your ſtouteſt young men " would with difficulty be able to carry " one. And theſe are equally ſurprizing " in their operation againſt the great " king's enemies when engaged in battle; " the terror they carry with them your " language wants words to expreſs. You " may remember the other day when we " were encamping at Wadawpawmene- " ſoter, the black clouds, the wind, the " fire, the ſtupendous noiſe, the horrible " cracks, and the trembling of the earth " which then alarmed you, and gave you " reaſon to think your gods were angry " with you; not unlike theſe are the war- " like implements of the Engliſh when " they are fighting the battles of their " great King.

" Several of the chiefs of your bands " have often told me, in times paſt, " when I dwelt with you in your tents, " that they much wiſhed to be counted " among the children and allies of the " great King my maſter. You may re- " member how often you have deſired

" me,

" me, when I return again to my own
" country, to acquaint the great King
" of your good diſpoſition towards him
" and his ſubjects, and that you wiſhed
" for traders from the Engliſh to come
" among you. Being now about to take
" my leave of you, and to return to my
" own country, a long way towards
" the riſing ſun, I again aſk you to tell
" me whether you continue of the ſame
" mind as when I ſpoke to you in coun-
" cil laſt winter; and as there are now
" ſeveral of your chiefs here, who came
" from the great plains towards the ſet-
" ting of the ſun, whom I have never
" ſpoke with in council before, I aſk you
" to let me know if you are all will-
" ing to acknowledge yourſelves the chil-
" dren of my great maſter the King of
" the Engliſh and other nations, as I
" ſhall take the firſt opportunity to ac-
" quaint him of your deſires and good
" intentions. I charge you not to give
" heed to bad reports; for there are
" wicked birds flying about among the
" neighbouring nations, who may whiſ-
" per evil things in your ears againſt the
" Engliſh, contrary to what I have told

" you;

" you; you muſt not believe them, for I " have told you the truth.

" And as for the chiefs that are about " to go to Michillimackinac, I ſhall take " care to make for them and their ſuite, " a ſtraight road, ſmooth waters, and a " clear ſky; that they may go there, " and ſmoke the pipe of Peace, and reſt " ſecure on a beaver blanket under the " ſhade of the great tree of peace. Fare- " well!"

To this ſpeech I received the following anſwer, from the mouth of the principal chief:

" Good brother! I am now about to " ſpeak to you with the mouths of theſe " my brothers, chiefs of the eight bands " of the powerful nation of the Nau- " doweſſies. We believe and are well " ſatisfied in the truth of every thing " you have told us about your great na- " tion, and the Great King our greateſt " father; for whom we ſpread this beaver " blanket, that his fatherly protection " may ever reſt eaſy and ſafe amongſt us " his children: your colours and your " arms agree with the accounts you have " given us about your great nation. We

" deſire

" desire that when you return, you will " acquaint the Great King how much the " Naudowessies wish to be counted among " his good children. You may believe " us when we tell you that we will not " open our ears to any who may dare to " speak evil of our Great Father the King " of the English and other nations.

" We thank you for what you have " done for us in making peace between " the Naudowessies and the Chipéways, " and hope when you return to us again, " that you will complete this good work; " and quite dispelling the clouds that in- " tervene, open the blue sky of peace, " and cause the bloody hatchet to be deep " buried under the roots of the great tree " of peace.

" We wish you to remember to repre- " sent to our Great Father, how much " we desire that traders may be sent to " abide among us, with such things as " we need, that the hearts of our young " men, our wives, and children may be " made glad. And may peace subsist be- " tween us, so long as the sun, the moon, " the earth, and the waters shall endure. " Farewell."

I thought

I thought it neceſſary to caution the Indians againſt giving heed to any bad reports that may reach them from the neighbouring nations to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh, as I had heard, at different places through which I paſſed, that emiſſaries were ſtill employed by the French to detach thoſe who were friendly to the Engliſh from their intereſt. And I ſaw, myſelf, ſeveral belts of Wampum that had been delivered for this purpoſe to ſome of the tribes I was among. On the delivery of each of theſe a Talk was held, wherein the Indians were told that the Engliſh, who were but a petty people, had ſtolen that country from their Great Father the king of France whilſt he was aſleep; but that he would ſoon awake, and take them again under his protection. Theſe I found were ſent from Canada by perſons who appeared to be well affected towards the government under which they lived.

Whilſt I tarried at the mouth of the River St. Pierre with theſe friendly Indians, I endeavoured to gain intelligence whether any goods had been ſent towards the Falls of St. Anthony for my uſe, agreeable

able to the promiſe I had received from the governor when I left Michillimackinac. But finding from ſome Indians, who paſſed by in their return from thoſe parts, that this agreement had not been fulfilled, I was obliged to give up all thoughts of proceeding farther to the north-weſt by this route, according to my original plan. I therefore returned to La Prairie le Chien, where I procured as many goods from the traders I left there the preceding year as they could ſpare.

As theſe however were not ſufficient to enable me to renew my firſt deſign, I determined to endeavour to make my way acroſs the country of the Chipéways to Lake Superior; in hopes of meeting at the Grand Portage on the north ſide of it, the traders that annually go from Michillimackinac to the north-weſt; of whom I doubted not but that I ſhould be able to procure goods enough to anſwer my purpoſe, and alſo to penetrate through thoſe more northern parts to the Straights of Annian.

And I the more readily returned to La Prairie le Chien, as I could by that means the better fulfil the engagement I had

had made to the party of Naudoweſſies mentioned at the concluſion of my ſpeech. During my abode with this people, wiſhing to ſecure them entirely in the intereſt of the Engliſh, I had adviſed ſome of the chiefs to go to Michillimackinac, where they would have an opportunity of trading, and of hearing the accounts that I had entertained them with of my countrymen confirmed. At the ſame time I had furniſhed them with a recommendation to the governor, and given them every direction neceſſary for their voyage.

In conſequence of this one of the principal chiefs, and twenty-five of an inferior rank, agreed to go the enſuing ſummer. This they took an opportunity of doing when they came with the reſt of their band to attend the grand council at the mouth of the River St. Pierre. Being obliged, on account of the diſappointment I had juſt been informed of, to return ſo far down the Miſſiſſippi, I could from thence the more eaſily ſet them on their journey.

As the intermediate parts of this river are much frequented by the Chipéways, with whom the Naudoweſſies are continually

nually at war, they thought it more prudent, being but a ſmall party, to take the advantage of the night, than to travel with me by day; accordingly no ſooner was the grand council broke up, than I took a friendly leave of theſe people, from whom I had received innumerable civilities, and purſued once more my voyage.

I reached the eaſtern ſide of Lake Pepin the ſame night, where I went aſhore and encamped as uſual. The next morning, when I had proceeded ſome miles farther, I perceived at a diſtance before me a ſmoke, which denoted that ſome Indians were near; and in a ſhort time diſcovered ten or twelve tents not far from the bank of the river. As I was apprehenſive that this was a party of the Rovers I had before met with, I knew not what courſe to purſue. My attendants perſuaded me to endeavour to paſs by them on the oppoſite ſide of the river; but as I had hitherto found that the beſt way to enſure a friendly reception from the Indians is to meet them boldly, and without ſhewing any tokens of fear, I would by no means conſent to their propoſal. Inſtead of this I croſſed directly over,

over, and landed in the midſt of them, for by this time the greateſt part of them were ſtanding on the ſhore.

The firſt I accoſted were Chippéways inhabiting near the Ottowaw lakes; who received me with great cordiality, and ſhook me by the hand in token of friendſhip. At ſome little diſtance behind theſe ſtood a chief remarkably tall and well made, but of ſo ſtern an aſpect that the moſt undaunted perſon could not behold him without feeling ſome degree of terror. He ſeemed to have paſſed the meridian of life, and by the mode in which he was painted and tatowed, I diſcovered that he was of high rank. However, I approached him in a courteous manner, and expected to have met with the ſame reception I had done from the others: but to my great ſurprize he with-held his hand, and looking fiercely at me, ſaid in the Chipéway tongue, "Cawin niſhiſhin ſaganoſh," that is, "The Engliſh are no good." As he had his tomahawk in his hand, I expected that this laconick ſentence would have been followed by a blow; to prevent which I drew a piſtol from my belt, and, holding it in a careleſs poſition,

paſſed

paſſed cloſe by him, to let him ſee I was not afraid of him.

I learned ſoon after from the other Indians, that this was a chief, called by the French the Grand Sautor, or the Great Chipéway Chief, for they denominate the Chipéways Sautors. They likewiſe told me that he had been always a ſteady friend to that people, and when they delivered up Michillimackinac to the Engliſh on their evacuation of Canada, the Grand Sautor had ſworn that he would ever remain the avowed enemy of its new poſſeſſors, as the territories on which the fort is built belonged to him.

Finding him thus diſpoſed, I took care to be conſtantly upon my guard whilſt I ſtaid; but that he might not ſuppoſe I was driven away by his frowns, I took up my abode there for the night. I pitched my tent at ſome diſtance from the Indians, and had no ſooner laid myſelf down to reſt, than I was awakened by my French ſervant. Having been alarmed by the ſound of Indian muſic, he had run to the outſide of the tent, where he beheld a party of the young ſavages dancing towards us in an extraordinary manner,

each carrying in his hand a torch fixed on the top of a long pole. But I ſhall defer any further account of this uncommon entertainment, which at once ſurprized and alarmed me, till I treat of the Indian dances.

The next morning I continued my voyage, and before night reached La Prairie le Chien; at which place the party of Naudoweſſies ſoon overtook me. Not long after the Grand Sautor alſo arrived, and before the Naudoweſſies left that place to continue their journey to Michillimackinac, he found means, in conjunction with ſome French traders from Louiſiana, to draw from me about ten of the Naudoweſſie chiefs, whom he prevailed upon to go towards thoſe parts.

The remainder proceeded, according to my directions, to the Engliſh fort; from whence I afterwards heard that they returned to their own country without any unfortunate accident befalling them, and greatly pleaſed with the reception they had met with. Whilſt not more than half of thoſe who went to the ſouthward, through the difference of that ſouthern climate from their own, lived to reach

their

their abode. And ſince I came to England I have been informed, that the Grand Sautor having rendered himſelf more and more diſguſtful to the Engliſh by his inveterate enmity towards them, was at length ſtabbed in his tent, as he encamped near Michillimackinac, by a trader to whom I had related the foregoing ſtory.

I ſhould have remarked, that whatever Indians happen to meet at La Prairie le Chien, the great mart to which all who inhabit the adjacent countries reſort, though the nations to which they belong are at war with each other, yet they are obliged to reſtrain their enmity, and to forbear all hoſtile acts during their ſtay there. This regulation has been long eſtabliſhed among them for their mutual convenience, as without it no trade could be carried on. The ſame rule is obſerved alſo at the Red Mountain (afterwards deſcribed) from whence they get the ſtone of which they make their pipes: theſe being indiſpenſable to the accommodation of every neighbouring tribe, a ſimilar reſtriction becomes needful, and is of public utility.

The River St. Pierre, which runs through the territories of the Naudoweſſies, flows through a moſt delightful country, abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, that grow ſpontaneouſly; and with a little cultivation it might be made to produce even the luxuries of life. Wild rice grows here in great abundance; and every part is filled with trees bending under their loads of fruits, ſuch as plums, grapes, and apples; the meadows are covered with hops, and many ſorts of vegetables; whilſt the ground is ſtored with uſeful roots, with angelica, ſpikenard, and ground-nuts as large as hens eggs. At a little diſtance from the ſides of the river are eminences, from which you have views that cannot be exceeded even by the moſt beautiful of thoſe I have already deſcribed; amidſt theſe are delightful groves, and ſuch amazing quantities of maples, that they would produce ſugar ſufficient for any number of inhabitants.

A little way from the mouth of this river, on the north ſide of it, ſtands a hill, one part of which, that towards the Miſſiſſippi, is compoſed entirely of white ſtone, of the ſame ſoft nature as that I have

have before deſcribed; for ſuch, indeed, is all the ſtone in this country. But what appears remarkable is, that the colour of it is as white as the driven ſnow. The outward part of it was crumbled by the wind and weather into heaps of ſand, of which a beautiful compoſition might be made; or, I am of opinion that, when properly treated, the ſtone itſelf would grow harder by time, and have a very noble effect in architecture.

Near that branch which is termed the Marble River, is a mountain, from whence the Indians get a ſort of red ſtone, out of which they hew the bowls of their pipes. In ſome of theſe parts is found a black hard clay, or rather ſtone, of which the Naudoweſſies make their family utenſils. This country likewiſe abounds with a milk-white clay, of which China ware might be made equal in goodneſs to the Aſiatic; and alſo with a blue clay that ſerves the Indians for paint; with this laſt they contrive, by mixing it with the red ſtone powdered, to paint themſelves of different colours. Thoſe that can get the blue clay here mentioned, paint themſelves very much with it; particularly when they are

about to begin their ſports and paſtimes. It is alſo eſteemed by them a mark of peace, as it has a reſemblance of a blue ſky, which with them is a ſymbol of it, and made uſe of in their ſpeeches as a figurative expreſſion to denote peace. When they wiſh to ſhew that their inclinations are pacific towards other tribes, they greatly ornament both themſelves and their belts with it.

Having concluded my buſineſs at La Prairie le Chien, I proceeded once more up the Miſſiſſippi as far as the place where the Chipéway River enters it a little below Lake Pepin. Here, having engaged an Indian pilot, I directed him to ſteer towards the Ottawaw Lakes which lie near the head of this river. This he did, and I arrived at them the beginning of July.

The Chipéway River, at its junction with the Miſſiſſippi, is about eighty yards wide, but is much wider as you advance into it. Near thirty miles up it ſeparates into two branches, and I took my courſe through that which lies to the eaſtward.

The

The country adjoining to the river, for about ſixty miles, is very level, and on its banks lie fine meadows, where larger droves of buffaloes and elks were feeding, than I had obſerved in any other part of my travels. The track between the two branches of this river is termed the Road of War between the Chipéway and Naudoweſſie Indians.

The country to the Falls marked in the plan at the extent of the traders travels, is almoſt without any timber, and above that very uneven and rugged, and cloſely wooded with pines, beech, maple, and birch. Here a moſt remarkable and aſtoniſhing ſight preſented itſelf to my view. In a wood, on the eaſt of the river, which was about three quarters of a mile in length, and in depth farther than my eye could reach, I obſerved that every tree, many of which were more than ſix feet in circumference, was lying flat on the ground torn up by the roots. This appeared to have been done by ſome extraordinary hurricane that came from the weſt ſome years ago, but how many I could not learn, as I found no inhabitants near it, of whom I

could gain information. The country on the weſt ſide of the river, from being leſs woody, had eſcaped in a great meaſure this havock, as only a few trees were blown down.

Near the heads of this river is a town of the Chipéways, from whence it takes its name. It is ſituated on each ſide of the river (which at this place is of no conſiderable breadth) and lies adjacent to the banks of a ſmall lake. This town contains about forty houſes, and can ſend out upwards of one hundred warriors, many of whom were fine ſtout young men. The houſes of it are built after the Indian manner, and have neat plantations behind them; but the inhabitants, in general, ſeemed to be the naſtieſt people I had ever been among. I obſerved that the women and children indulged themſelves in a cuſtom, which though common, in ſome degree, throughout every Indian nation, appears to be, according to our ideas, of the moſt nauſeous and indelicate nature; that of ſearching each other's head, and eating the prey caught therein.

In July I left this town, and having croſſed a number of ſmall lakes and carrying

rying places that intervened, came to a head branch of the River St. Croix. This branch I deſcended to a fork, and then aſcended another to its ſource. On both theſe rivers I diſcovered ſeveral mines of virgin copper, which was as pure as that found in any other country.

Here I came to a ſmall brook, which my guide thought might be joined at ſome diſtance by ſtreams that would at length render it navigable. The water at firſt was ſo ſcanty, that my canoe would by no means ſwim in it; but having ſtopped up ſeveral old beaver dams which had been broken down by the hunters, I was enabled to proceed for ſome miles, till by the conjunction of a few brooks, theſe aids became no longer neceſſary. In a ſhort time the water increaſed to a moſt rapid river, which we deſcended till it entered into Lake Superior. This river I named after a gentleman that deſired to accompany me from the town of the Ottagaumies to the Carrying Place on Lake Superior, Goddard's River.

To the weſt of this is another ſmall river, which alſo empties itſelf into the Lake. This I termed Strawberry River, from

from the great number of ſtrawberries of a good ſize and fine flavour that grew on its banks.

The country from the Ottawaw Lakes to Lake Superior is in general very uneven and thickly covered with woods. The ſoil in ſome places tolerably good, in others but indifferent. In the heads of the St. Croix and the Chipéway Rivers are exceeding fine ſturgeon. All the wilderneſs between the Miſſiſſippi and Lake Superior is called by the Indians the Moſchettoe country, and I thought it moſt juſtly named; for, it being then their ſeaſon, I never ſaw or felt ſo many of thoſe inſects in my life.

The latter end of July I arrived, after having coaſted through Weſt Bay, at the Grand Portage, which lies on the north-weſt borders of Lake Superior. Here thoſe who go on the north-weſt trade, to the Lakes De Pluye, Dubois, &c. carry over their canoes and baggage about nine miles, till they come to a number of ſmall lakes, the waters of ſome of which deſcend into Lake Superior, and others into the River Bourbon. Lake Superior from Weſt Bay to this place is bounded

bounded by rocks, except towards the ſouth-weſt part of the Bay where I firſt entered it, there it was tolerably level.

At the Grand Portage is a ſmall bay, before the entrance of which lies an iſland that intercepts the dreary and uninterrupted view over the Lake which otherwiſe would have preſented itſelf, and makes the bay ſerene and pleaſant. Here I met a large party of the Killiſtinoe and Aſſinipoil Indians, with their reſpective kings and their families. They were come to this place in order to meet the traders from Michillimackinac, who make this their road to the north-weſt. From them I received the following account of the Lakes that lie to the north-weſt of Lake Superior.

Lake Bourbon, the moſt northern of thoſe yet diſcovered, received its name from ſome French traders who accompanied a party of Indians to Hudſon's Bay ſome years ago; and was thus denominated by them in honour of the royal family of France. It is compoſed of the waters of the Bourbon River, which, as I have before obſerved, riſes a great way

to

to the ſouthward, not far from the northern heads of the Miſſiſſippi.

This Lake is about eighty miles in length, north and ſouth, and is nearly circular. It has no very large iſlands on it. The land on the eaſtern ſide is very good; and to the ſouth-weſt there are ſome mountains: in many other parts there are barren plains, bogs, and moraſſes. Its latitude is between fifty-two and fifty-four degrees north, and it lies nearly ſouth-weſt from Hudſon's Bay. As through its northern ſituation the weather there is extremely cold, only a few animals are to be found in the country that borders on it. They gave me but an indifferent account either of the beaſts, birds, or fiſhes. There are indeed ſome buffaloes of a ſmall ſize, which are fat and good about the latter end of ſummer, with a few mooſe and carribboo deer; however this deficiency is made up by the furs of every ſort that are to be met with in great plenty around the Lake. The timber growing here is chiefly fir, cedar, ſpruce, and ſome maple.

Lake Winnepeek, or as the French write it Lac Ouinipique, which lies near-

eſt

eſt to the foregoing, is compoſed of the ſame waters. It is in length about two hundred miles north and ſouth; its breadth has never been properly aſcertained, but is ſuppoſed to be about one hundred miles in its wideſt part. This Lake is very full of iſlands; theſe are, however, of no great magnitude. Many conſiderable rivers empty themſelves into it, which, as yet, are not diſtinguiſhed by any names. The waters are ſtored with fiſh, ſuch as trout and ſturgeon, and alſo with others of a ſmaller kind peculiar to theſe Lakes.

The land on the ſouth-weſt part of it is very good, eſpecially about the entrance of a large branch of the River Bourbon which flows from the ſouth-weſt. On this River there is a factory that was built by the French called Fort La Reine, to which the traders from Michillimackinac reſort to trade with the Aſſinipoils and Killiſtinoes. To this place the Mahahs, who inhabit a country two hundred and fifty miles ſouth-weſt, come alſo to trade with them; and bring great quantities of Indian corn to exchange for knives, tomahawks, and other articles. Theſe people are

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to dwell on ſome of the branches of the River of the Weſt.

Lake Winnepeek has on the north-eaſt ſome mountains, and on the eaſt many barren plains. The maple or ſugar tree grows here in great plenty, and there is likewiſe gathered an amazing quantity of rice, which proves that grain will flouriſh in theſe northern climates as well as in warmer. Buffaloes, carribboo, and mooſe deer, are numerous in theſe parts. The buffaloes of this country differ from thoſe that are found more to the ſouth only in ſize; the former being much ſmaller: juſt as the black cattle of the northern parts of Great Britain differ from Engliſh oxen.

On the waters that fall into this Lake, the neighbouring nations take great numbers of excellent furs. Some of theſe they carry to the factories and ſettlements belonging to the Hudſon's Bay Company, ſituated above the entrance of the Bourbon River: but this they do with reluctance on ſeveral accounts; for ſome of the Aſſinipoils and Killiſtinoes, who uſually traded with the Company's ſervants, told me, that if they could be ſure

ſure of a conſtant ſupply of goods from Michillimackinac, they would not trade any where elſe. They ſhewed me ſome cloth and other articles that they had purchaſed at Hudſon's Bay, with which they were much diſſatisfied, thinking they had been greatly impoſed upon in the barter.

Allowing that their accounts were true, I could not help joining in their opinion. But this diſſatisfaction might probably proceed, in a great meaſure, from the intrigues of the Canadian traders: for whilſt the French were in poſſeſſion of Michillimackinac, having acquired a thorough knowledge of the trade of the north-weſt countries, they were employed on that account, after the reduction of Canada, by the Engliſh traders there, in the eſtabliſhment of this trade with which they were themſelves quite unacquainted. One of the methods they took to withdraw theſe Indians from their attachment to the Hudſon's Bay Company, and to engage their good opinion in behalf of their new employers, was by depreciating on all occaſions the Company's goods, and magnifying the

advantages

advantages that would ariſe to them from trafficking entirely with the Canadian traders. In this they too well ſucceeded, and from this, doubtleſs, did the diſſatisfaction the Aſſinipoils and Killiſtinoes expreſſed to me, partly proceed. But another reaſon augmented it; and this was the length of their journey to the Hudſon's Bay factories, which, they informed me, took them up three months during the ſummer heats to go and return, and from the ſmallneſs of their canoes they could not carry more than a third of the beavers they killed. So that it is not to be wondered at, that theſe Indians ſhould wiſh to have traders come to reſide among them. It is true that the parts they inhabit are within the limits of the Hudſon's Bay territories, but the Company muſt be under the neceſſity of winking at an encroachment of this kind, as the Indians would without doubt protect the traders when among them. Beſides, the paſſports granted to the traders that go from Michillimackinac give them liberty to trade to the north-weſt about Lake Superior; by which is meant Fort La Reine, Lake Winnepeek, or any other

other parts of the waters of the Bourbon River, where the Couriers de Bois, or Traders, may make it moſt convenient to reſide.

Lac du Bois, as it is commonly termed by the French in their maps, or in Engliſh the Lake of the Wood, is ſo called from the multiplicity of wood growing on its banks; ſuch as oaks, pines, firs, ſpruce, &c. This Lake lies ſtill higher up a branch of the River Bourbon, and nearly eaſt from the ſouth end of Lake Winnepeek. It is of great depth in ſome places. Its length from eaſt to weſt about ſeventy miles, and its greateſt breadth about forty miles. It has but few iſlands, and theſe of no great magnitude. The fiſhes, fowls, and quadrupeds that are found near it, vary but little from thoſe of the other two lakes. A few of the Killiſtinoe Indians ſometimes encamp on the borders of it to fiſh and hunt.

This Lake lies in the communication between Lake Superior, and the Lakes Winnepeek and Bourbon. Its waters are not eſteemed quite ſo pure as thoſe of the other lakes, it having, in many places, a muddy bottom.

Lac La Pluye, ſo called by the French, in Engliſh the Rainy Lake, is ſuppoſed to have acquired this name from the firſt travellers, that paſſed over it, meeting with an uncommon deal of rain; or, as ſome have affirmed, from a miſt like rain occaſioned by a perpendicular water-fall that empties itſelf into a river which lies to the ſouth-weſt.

This Lake appears to be divided by an iſthmus, near the middle, into two parts: the weſt part is called the Great Rainy Lake, the eaſt, the Little Rainy Lake, as being the leaſt diviſion. It lies a few miles farther to the eaſtward, on the ſame branch of the Bourbon, than the laſt-mentioned Lake. It is in general very ſhallow in its depth. The broadeſt part of it is not more than twenty miles, its length, including both, about three hundred miles. In the weſt part the water is very clear and good; and ſome excellent fiſh are taken in it. A great many fowl reſort here at the fall of the year. Mooſe deer are to be found in great plenty, and likewiſe the carribboo; whoſe ſkin for breeches or gloves exceeds by far any other to be met with in North-America.

The

The land on the borders of this Lake is eſteemed in ſome places very good, but rather too thickly covered with wood. Here reſide a conſiderable band of the Chipéways.

Eaſtward from this Lake lie ſeveral ſmall ones, which extend in a ſtring to the great carrying place, and from thence into Lake Superior. Between theſe little Lakes are ſeveral carrying places, which renders the trade to the north-weſt difficult to accompliſh, and exceedingly tedious, as it takes two years to make one voyage from Michillimackinac to theſe parts.

Red Lake is a comparatively ſmall lake at the head of a branch of the Bourbon River, which is called by ſome Red River. Its form is nearly round, and about ſixty miles in circumference. On one ſide of it is a tolerable large iſland, cloſe by which a ſmall river enters. It bears almoſt ſouth-eaſt both from Lake Winnepeek and from Lake du Bois. The parts adjacent are very little known, or frequented, even by the ſavages themſelves.

Not far from this Lake, a little to the ſouth-weſt, is another called White Bear Lake, which is nearly about the ſize of the laſt mentioned. The waters that compoſe this Lake are the moſt northern of any that ſupply the Miſſiſſippi, and may be called with propriety its moſt remote ſource. It is fed by two or three ſmall rivers or rather large brooks.

A few miles from it, to the ſouth-eaſt, are a great number of ſmall lakes, none of which are more than ten miles in circumference, that are called the Thouſand Lakes. In the adjacent country is reckoned the fineſt hunting for furs of any on this continent; the Indians who hunt here ſeldom returning without having their canoes loaded as deep as they can ſwim.

Having juſt before obſerved that this Lake is the utmoſt northern ſource of the Miſſiſſippi, I ſhall here further remark, that before this river enters the Gulph of Mexico, it has not run leſs, through all its meanderings, than three thouſand miles; or, in a ſtrait line from north to ſouth, about twenty degrees, which

which is nearly fourteen hundred Engliſh miles.

Theſe Indians informed me, that to the north-weſt of Lake Winnepeek lies another, whoſe circumference vaſtly exceeded any they had given me an account of. They deſcribe it as much larger than Lake Superior. But as it appears to be ſo far to the north-weſt, I ſhould imagine that it was not a lake, but rather the Archipelago or broken waters that form the communication between Hudſon's Bay and the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean.

There are an infinite number of ſmall lakes, on the more weſtern parts of the weſtern head-branches of the Miſſiſſippi, as well as between theſe and Lake Winnepeek, but none of them are large enough to ſuppoſe either of them to be the lake or waters meant by the Indians.

They likewiſe informed me, that ſome of the northern branches of the Meſſorie and the ſouthern branches of the St. Pierre have a communication with each other, except for a mile; over which they carry their canoes. And by what I could learn from them, this is the road they take

when their war parties make their excurſions upon the Pawnees and Pawnawnees, nations inhabiting ſome branches of the Meſſorie River. In the country belonging to theſe people it is ſaid, that Mandrakes are frequently found, a ſpecies of root reſembling human beings of both ſexes; and that theſe are more perfect than ſuch as are diſcovered about the Nile in Nether-Ethiopia.

A little to the north-weſt of the heads of the Meſſorie and the St. Pierre, the Indians further told me, that there was a nation rather ſmaller and whiter than the neighbouring tribes, who cultivate the ground, and (as far as I could gather from their expreſſions) in ſome meaſure, the arts. To this account they added that ſome of the nations, who inhabit thoſe parts that lie to the weſt of the Shining Mountains, have gold ſo plenty among them that they make their moſt common utenſils of it. Theſe mountains (which I ſhall deſcribe more particularly hereafter) divide the waters that fall into the South Sea from thoſe that run into the Atlantic.

The

The people dwelling near them are ſuppoſed to be ſome of the different tribes that were tributary to the Mexican kings, and who fled from their native country to ſeek an aſylum in theſe parts, about the time of the conqueſt of Mexico by the Spaniards, more than two centuries ago.

As ſome confirmation of this ſuppoſition it is remarked, that they have choſen the moſt interior parts for their retreat, being ſtill prepoſſeſſed with a notion that the ſea-coaſts have been infeſted ever ſince with monſters vomiting fire, and hurling about thunder and lightning; from whoſe bowels iſſued men, who, with unſeen inſtruments, or by the power of magick, killed the harmleſs Indians at an aſtoniſhing diſtance. From ſuch as theſe, their fore-fathers (according to a tradition among them that ſtill remains unimpaired) fled to the retired abodes they now inhabit. For as they found that the floating monſters which had thus terrified them could not approach the land, and that thoſe who had deſcended from their ſides did not care to make excurſions to any conſiderable diſtance from them, they formed a reſolution to betake themſelves to

ſome country, that lay far from the ſea-coaſts, where only they could be ſecure from ſuch diabolical enemies. They accordingly ſet out with their families, and after a long peregrination, ſettled themſelves near theſe mountains, where they concluded they had found a place of perfect ſecurity.

The Winnebagoes, dwelling on the Fox River (whom I have already treated of) are likewiſe ſuppoſed to be ſome ſtrolling band from the Mexican countries. But they are able to give only an imperfect account of their original reſidence. They ſay they formerly came a great way from the weſtward, and were driven by wars to take refuge among the Naudoweſſies; but as they are entirely ignorant of the arts, or of the value of gold, it is rather to be ſuppoſed, that they were driven from their ancient ſettlements by the above-mentioned emigrants, as they paſſed on towards their preſent habitation.

Theſe ſuppoſitions, however, may want confirmation; for the ſmaller tribes of Indians are ſubject to ſuch various alterations in their places of abode, from the wars they are continually engaged in, that it is almoſt

almoſt impoſſible to aſcertain, after half a century, the original ſituation of any of them.

That range of mountains, of which the Shining Mountains are a part, begin at Mexico, and continuing northward on the back, or to the eaſt of California, ſeparate the waters of thoſe numerous rivers that fall either into the Gulph of Mexico, or the Gulph of California. From thence continuing their courſe ſtill northward, between the ſources of the Miſſiſſippi and the rivers that run into the South Sea, they appear to end in about forty-ſeven or forty-eight degrees of north latitude; where a number of rivers ariſe, and empty themſelves either into the South Sea, into Hudſon's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between theſe two ſeas.

Among theſe mountains, thoſe that lie to the weſt of the River St. Pierre, are called the Shining Mountains, from an infinite number of chryſtal ſtones, of an amazing ſize, with which they are covered, and which, when the ſun ſhines full upon them, ſparkle ſo as to be ſeen at a very great diſtance.

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This extraordinary range of mountains is calculated to be more than three thouſand miles in length, without any very conſiderable intervals, which I believe ſurpaſſes any thing of the kind in the other quarters of the globe. Probably in future ages they may be found to contain more riches in their bowels, than thoſe of Indoſtan and Malabar, or that are produced on the Golden Coaſt of Guinea; nor will I except even the Peruvian Mines. To the weſt of theſe mountains, when explored by future Columbuſes or Raleighs, may be found other lakes, rivers, and countries, full fraught with all the neceſſaries or luxuries of life; and where future generations may find an aſylum, whether driven from their country by the ravages of lawleſs tyrants, or by religious perſecutions, or reluctantly leaving it to remedy the inconveniences ariſing from a ſuperabundant increaſe of inhabitants; whether, I ſay, impelled by theſe, or allured by hopes of commercial advantages, there is little doubt but their expectations will be fully gratified in theſe rich and unexhauſted climes.

But

But to return to the Aſſinipoils and Killiſtinoes, whom I left at the Grand Portage, and from whom I received the foregoing account of the lakes that lie to the north-weſt of this place.

The traders we expected being later this ſeaſon than uſual, and our numbers very conſiderable, for there were more than three hundred of us, the ſtock of proviſion we had brought with us was nearly exhauſted, and we waited with impatience for their arrival.

One day, whilſt we were all expreſſing our wiſhes for this deſirable event, and looking from an eminence in hopes of ſeeing them come over the lake, the chief prieſt belonging to the band of the Killiſtinoes told us, that he would endeavour to obtain a conference with the Great Spirit, and know from him when the traders would arrive. I paid little attention to this declaration, ſuppoſing that it would be productive of ſome juggling trick, juſt ſufficiently covered to deceive the ignorant Indians. But the king of that tribe telling me that this was chiefly undertaken by the prieſt to alleviate my anxiety, and at the ſame time to convince

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me how much intereſt he had with the Great Spirit, I thought it neceſſary to reſtrain my animadverſions on his deſign.

The following evening was fixed upon for this ſpiritual conference. When every thing had been properly prepared, the king came to me and led me to a capacious tent, the covering of which was drawn up, ſo as to render what was tranſacting within viſible to thoſe who ſtood without. We found the tent ſurrounded by a great number of the Indians, but we readily gained admiſſion, and ſeated ourſelves on ſkins laid on the ground for that purpoſe.

In the centre I obſerved that there was a place of an oblong ſhape, which was compoſed of ſtakes ſtuck in the ground, with intervals between, ſo as to form a kind of cheſt or coffin, large enough to contain the body of a man. Theſe were of a middle ſize, and placed at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that whatever lay within them was readily to be diſcerned. The tent was perfectly illuminated by a great number of torches made of ſplinters cut from the pine or birch tree, which the Indians held in their hands.

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In a few minutes the prieſt entered; when an amazing large elk's ſkin being ſpread on the ground, juſt at my feet, he laid himſelf down upon it, after having ſtript himſelf of every garment except that which he wore cloſe about his middle. Being now proſtrate on his back, he firſt laid hold of one ſide of the ſkin, and folded it over him, and then the other; leaving only his head uncovered. This was no ſooner done, than two of the young men who ſtood by took about forty yards of ſtrong cord, made alſo of an elk's hide, and rolled it tight round his body, ſo that he was completely ſwathed within the ſkin. Being thus bound up like an Egyptian Mummy, one took him by the heels, and the other by the head, and lifted him over the pales into the incloſure. I could alſo now diſcern him as plain as I had hitherto done, and I took care not to turn my eyes a moment from the object before me, that I might the more readily detect the artifice; for ſuch I doubted not but that it would turn out to be.

The prieſt had not lain in this ſituation more than a few ſeconds, when he began

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to mutter. This he continued to do for ſome time, and then by degrees grew louder and louder, till at length he ſpoke articulately; however what he uttered was in ſuch a mixed jargon of the Chipéway, Ottowaw, and Killiſtinoe languages, that I could underſtand but very little of it. Having continued in this tone for a conſiderable while, he at laſt exerted his voice to its utmoſt pitch, ſometimes raving and ſometimes praying, till he had worked himſelf into ſuch an agitation, that he foamed at his mouth.

After having remained near three quarters of an hour in the place, and continued his vociferation with unabated vigor, he ſeemed to be quite exhauſted, and remained ſpeechleſs. But in an inſtant he ſprung upon his feet, notwithſtanding at the time he was put in, it appeared impoſſible for him to move either his legs or arms, and ſhaking off his covering, as quick as if the bands with which it had been bound were burned aſunder, he began to addreſs thoſe who ſtood around in a firm and audible voice. "My Brothers," ſaid he, "the Great Spirit has deigned "to hold a Talk with his ſervant at my "earneſt

" earneſt requeſt. He has not, indeed, " told me when the perſons we expect " will be here, but to-morrow, ſoon after " the ſun has reached his higheſt point in " the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and " the people in that will inform us when " the traders will come." Having ſaid this, he ſtepped out of the incloſure, and after he had put on his robes, diſmiſſed the aſſembly. I own I was greatly aſtoniſhed at what I had ſeen; but as I obſerved that every eye in the company was fixed on me with a view to diſcover my ſentiments, I carefully concealed every emotion.

The next day the ſun ſhone bright, and long before noon all the Indians were gathered together on the eminence that overlooked the lake. The old king came to me and aſked me, whether I had ſo much confidence in what the prieſt had foretold, as to join his people on the hill, and wait for the completion of it? I told him I was at a loſs what opinion to form of the prediction, but that I would readily attend him. On this we walked together to the place where the others were aſſembled. Every eye was again fixed by turns

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on me and on the lake; when juſt as the ſun had reached his zenith, agreeable to what the prieſt had foretold, a canoe came round a point of land about a league diſtant. The Indians no ſooner beheld it, than they ſent up an univerſal ſhout, and by their looks ſeemed to triumph in the intereſt their prieſt thus evidently had with the Great Spirit.

In leſs than an hour the canoe reached the ſhore, when I attended the king and chiefs to receive thoſe who were on board. As ſoon as the men were landed, we walked all together to the king's tent, when according to their invariable cuſtom we began to ſmoke; and this we did, notwithſtanding our impatience to know the tidings they brought, without aſking any queſtions; for the Indians are the moſt deliberate people in the world. However, after ſome trivial converſation, the king inquired of them whether they had ſeen any thing of the traders? the men replied, that they had parted from them a few days before, and that they propoſed being here the ſecond day from the preſent. They accordingly arrived at that time greatly to our ſatisfaction, but more particularly

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ſo to that of the Indians, who found by this event the importance both of their prieſt and of their nation, greatly augmented in the ſight of a ſtranger.

This ſtory I acknowledge appears to carry with it marks of great credulity in the relator. But no one is leſs tinctured with that weakneſs than myſelf. The circumſtances of it I own are of a very extraordinary nature; however, as I can vouch for their being free from either exaggeration or miſrepreſentation, being myſelf a cool and diſpaſſionate obſerver of them all, I thought it neceſſary to give them to the public. And this I do without wiſhing to miſlead the judgment of my Readers, or to make any ſuperſtitious impreſſions on their minds, but leaving them to draw from it what concluſions they pleaſe.

I have already obſerved that the Aſſinipoils, with a part of whom I met here, are a revolted band of the Naudoweſſies; who on account of ſome real or imagined grievances, for the Indians in general are very tenacious of their liberty, had ſeparated themſelves from their countrymen, and ſought for freedom at the

expence of their eaſe. For the country they now inhabit about the borders of Lake Winnepeek, being much farther north, is not near ſo fertile or agreeable as that they have relinquiſhed. They ſtill retain the language and manners of their former aſſociates.

The Killiſtinoes, now the neighbours and allies of the Aſſinipoils, for they alſo dwell near the ſame Lake and on the waters of the River Bourbon, appear to have been originally a tribe of the Chipéways, as they ſpeak their language, though in a different dialect. Their nation conſiſts of about three or four hundred warriors, and they ſeem to be a hardy brave people. I have already given an account of their country when I treated of Lake Winnepeek. As they reſide within the limits of Hudſon's Bay, they generally trade at the factories which belong to that Company, but, for the reaſons mentioned before, they frequently come to the place where I happened to join them, in order to meet the traders from Michillimackinac.

The anxiety I had felt on account of the traders delay, was not much alleviated

viated by their arrival. I again found my expectations disappointed, for I was not able to procure the goods I wanted from any of them. I was therefore obliged to give over my designs, and return to the place from whence I first began my extensive circuit. I accordingly took leave of the old king of the Killistinoes, with the chiefs of both bands, and departed. This prince was upwards of sixty years of age, tall and slightly made, but he carried himself very erect. He was of a courteous, affable disposition, and treated me, as did all the chiefs, with great civility.

I observed that this people still continued a custom, that appeared to have been universal before any of them became acquainted with the manners of the Europeans, that of complimenting strangers with the company of their wives; and this is not only practised by the lower ranks, but by the chiefs themselves, who esteem it the greatest proof of courtesy they can give a stranger.

The beginning of October, after having coasted round the north and east borders of Lake Superior, I arrived at Cadot's

Fort, which adjoins to the Falls of St. Marie, and is ſituated near the ſouth-weſt corner of it.

Lake Superior, formerly termed the Upper Lake from its northern ſituation, is ſo called on account of its being ſuperior in magnitude to any of the lakes on that vaſt continent. It might juſtly be termed the Caſpian of America, and is ſuppoſed to be the largeſt body of freſh water on the globe. Its circumference, according to the French charts, is about fifteen hundred miles; but I believe, that if it was coaſted round, and the utmoſt extent of every bay taken, it would exceed ſixteen hundred.

After I firſt entered it from Goddard's River on the weſt Bay, I coaſted near twelve hundred miles of the north and eaſt ſhores of it, and obſerved that the greateſt part of that extenſive tract was bounded by rocks and uneven ground. The water in general appeared to lie on a bed of rocks. When it was calm, and the ſun ſhone bright, I could ſit in my canoe, where the depth was upwards of ſix fathoms, and plainly ſee huge piles of ſtone at the bottom, of different ſhapes, ſome

ſome of which appeared as if they were hewn. The water at this time was as pure and tranſparent as air; and my canoe ſeemed as if it hung ſuſpended in that element. It was impoſſible to look attentively through this limpid medium at the rocks below, without finding, before many minutes were elapſed, your head ſwim, and your eyes no longer able to behold the dazzling ſcene.

I diſcovered alſo by accident another extraordinary property in the waters of this Lake. Though it was in the month of July that I paſſed over it, and the ſurface of the water, from the heat of the ſuper-ambient air, impregnated with no ſmall degree of warmth, yet on letting down a cup to the depth of about a fathom, the water drawn from thence was ſo exceſſively cold, that it had the ſame effect when received into the mouth as ice.

The ſituation of this Lake is variouſly laid down; but from the moſt exact obſervations I could make, it lies between forty-ſix and fifty degrees of north latitude, and between eighty-four and ninety-three degrees of weſt longitude from the meridian of London.

There are many iſlands in this Lake, two of which are very large; and if the land of them is proper for cultivation, there appears to be ſufficient to form on each a conſiderable province; eſpecially on Iſle Royal, which cannot be leſs than an hundred miles long, and in many places forty broad. But there is no way at preſent of aſcertaining the exact length or breadth of either. Even the French, who always kept a ſmall ſchooner on this lake whilſt they were in poſſeſſion of Canada, by which they could have made this diſcovery, have only acquired a ſlight knowledge of the external parts of theſe iſlands; at leaſt they have never publiſhed any account of the internal parts of them, that I could get intelligence of.

Nor was I able to diſcover from any of the converſations which I held with the neighbouring Indians, that they had ever made any ſettlements on them, or even landed there in their hunting excurſions. From what I could gather by their diſcourſe, they ſuppoſe them to have been, from their firſt information, the reſidence of the Great Spirit; and

relate

relate many ridiculous ſtories of enchantment and magical tricks that had been experienced by ſuch as were obliged through ſtreſs of weather to take ſhelter on them.

One of the Chipéway chiefs told me, that ſome of their people being once driven on the iſland of Mauropas, which lies towards the north-eaſt part of the Lake, found on it large quantities of a heavy ſhining yellow ſand, that from their deſcription muſt have been gold duſt. Being ſtruck with the beautiful appearance of it, in the morning, when they re-entered their canoe, they attempted to bring ſome away; but a ſpirit of an amazing ſize, according to their account ſixty feet in height, ſtrode into the water after them, and commanded them to deliver back what they had taken away. Terrified at his gigantic ſtature, and ſeeing that he had nearly overtaken them, they were glad to reſtore their ſhining treaſure; on which they were ſuffered to depart without further moleſtation. Since this incident, no Indian that has ever heard of it, will venture near the ſame haunted coaſt. Beſides this, they recounted to me

many other ſtories of theſe iſlands, equally fabulous.

The country on the north and eaſt parts of Lake Superior is very mountainous and barren. The weather being intenſely cold in the winter, and the ſun having but little power in the ſummer, vegetation there is very ſlow; and conſequently but little fruit is to be found on its ſhore. It however produces ſome few ſpecies in great abundance. Whirtleberries of an uncommon ſize, and fine flavour, grow on the mountains near the Lake in amazing quantities; as do black currants and gooſberries in the ſame luxuriant manner.

But the fruit which exceeds all the others, is a berry reſembling a raſberry in its manner of growth, but of a lighter red, and much larger; its taſte is far more delicious than the fruit I have compared it to, notwithſtanding that is ſo highly eſteemed in Europe: it grows on a ſhrub of the nature of a vine, with leaves ſimilar to thoſe of the grape; and I am perſuaded that was it tranſplanted into a warmer and more kindly climate, it would prove a moſt rare and delicious fruit.

Two

Two very large rivers empty themſelves into this Lake, on the north and north-eaſt ſide; one is called the Nipegon River, or, as the French pronounce it, the Allanipegon, which leads to a band of the Chipéways, inhabiting a lake of the ſame name, and the other is termed the Michipicooton River, the ſource of which is ſituated towards James's Bay, from whence there is but a ſhort carriage to another river, which empties itſelf into that bay, at a fort belonging to the Company. It was by this paſſage that a party of French from Michillimackinac invaded the ſettlements of that Society in the reign of Queen Anne. Having taken and deſtroyed their forts, they brought the cannon which they found in them to the fortreſs from whence they had iſſued; theſe were ſmall braſs pieces, and remain there to this preſent time; having, through the uſual revolutions of fortune, returned to the poſſeſſion of their former maſters.

Not far from the Nipegon is a ſmall river, that, juſt before it enters the Lake, has a perpendicular fall from the top of a mountain, of more than ſix hundred feet.

feet. Being very narrow, it appears at a diſtance like a white garter ſuſpended in the air.

A few Indians inhabit round the eaſtern borders of this lake, ſuppoſed to be the remains of the Algonkins, who formerly poſſeſſed this country, but who have been nearly extirpated by the Iroquois of Canada. Lake Superior has near forty rivers that fall into it, ſome of which are of a conſiderable ſize. On the ſouth ſide of it is a remarkable point or cape, of about ſixty miles in length, called Point Chegomegan. It might as properly be termed a peninſula, as it is nearly ſeparated from the continent, on the eaſt ſide, by a narrow bay that extends from eaſt to weſt. Canoes have but a ſhort portage acroſs the iſthmus, whereas if they coaſt it round, the voyage is more than an hundred miles.

About that diſtance to the weſt of the cape juſt deſcribed, a conſiderable river falls into the Lake, the head of which is compoſed of a great aſſemblage of ſmall ſtreams. This river is remarkable for the abundance of virgin copper that is found on and near its banks. A metal which

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is met with alſo in ſeveral other places on this coaſt. I obſerved that many of the ſmall iſlands, particularly thoſe on the eaſtern ſhores, were covered with copper ore. They appeared like beds of copperas, of which many tuns lay in a ſmall ſpace.

A company of adventurers from England began, ſoon after the conqueſt of Canada, to bring away ſome of this metal, but the diſtracted ſituation of affairs in America has obliged them to relinquiſh their ſcheme. It might in future times be made a very advantageous trade, as the metal, which coſts nothing on the ſpot, and requires but little expence to get it on board, could be conveyed in boats or canoes through the Falls of St. Marie to the Iſle of St. Joſeph, which lies at the bottom of the Straights near the entrance into Lake Huron; from thence it might be put on board larger veſſels, and in them tranſported acroſs that Lake to the Falls of Niagara; there being carried by land acroſs the Portage, it might be conveyed without much more obſtruction to Quebec. The cheapneſs and eaſe with which any quantity of it may be procured, will

will make up for the length of way that it is neceſſary to tranſport it before it reaches the ſea-coaſt, and enable the proprietors to ſend it to foreign markets on as good terms as it can be exported from other countries.

Lake Superior abounds with variety of fiſh, the principal and beſt are the trout and ſturgeon, which may be caught at almoſt any ſeaſon in the greateſt abundance. The trouts in general weigh about twelve pounds, but ſome are caught that exceed fifty. Beſides theſe, a ſpecies of white fiſh is taken in great quantities here, that reſemble a ſhad in their ſhape, but they are rather thicker, and leſs bony; they weigh about four pounds each, and are of a delicious taſte. The beſt way of catching theſe fiſh is with a net; but the trout might be taken at all times with the hook. There are likewiſe many ſorts of ſmaller fiſh in great plenty here, and which may be taken with eaſe; among theſe is a ſort reſembling a herring, that are generally made uſe of as a bait for the trout. Very ſmall crabs, not larger than half a crown piece, are found both in this and Lake Michegan.

This

This Lake is as much affected by ſtorms as the Atlantic Ocean; the waves run as high, and are equally as dangerous to ſhips. It diſcharges its waters from the ſouth-eaſt corner, through the Straights of St. Marie. At the upper end of theſe Straights ſtands a fort that receives its name from them, commanded by Monſ. Cadot, a French Canadian, who being proprietor of the ſoil, is ſtill permitted to keep poſſeſſion of it. Near this fort is a very ſtrong rapid, againſt which, though it is impoſſible for canoes to aſcend, yet when conducted by careful pilots, they might paſs down without danger.

Though Lake Superior, as I have before obſerved, is ſupplied by near forty rivers, many of which are conſiderable ones, yet it does not appear that one-tenth part of the waters which are conveyed into it by theſe rivers are carried off at this evacuation. How ſuch a ſuperabundance of water can be diſpoſed of, as it muſt certainly be by ſome means or other, without which the circumference of the lake would be continually enlarging, I know not: that it does not empty itſelf, as the Mediterranean Sea is ſuppoſed to do, by

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an under current, which perpetually counteracts that near the ſurface, is certain; for the ſtream which falls over the rock is not more than five or ſix feet in depth, and the whole of it paſſes on through the Straights into the adjacent lake; nor is it probable that ſo great a quantity can be abſorbed by exhalations; conſequently they muſt find a paſſage through ſome ſubterranean cavities, deep, unfathomable, and never to be explored.

The Falls of St. Marie do not deſcend perpendicularly as thoſe of Niagara or St. Anthony do, but conſiſt of a rapid which continues near three quarters of a mile, over which canoes well piloted might paſs.

At the bottom of theſe Falls, Nature has formed a moſt commodious ſtation for catching the fiſh which are to be found there in immenſe quantities. Perſons ſtanding on the rocks that lie adjacent to it, may take with dipping nets, about the months of September and October, the white fiſh before mentioned; at that ſeaſon, together with ſeveral other ſpecies, they croud up to this ſpot in ſuch amazing ſhoals, that enough may be taken

taken to ſupply, when properly cured, thouſands of inhabitants throughout the year.

The Straights of St. Marie are about forty miles long, bearing ſouth-eaſt, but varying much in their breadth. The current between the Falls and Lake Huron is not ſo rapid as might be expected, nor do they prevent the navigation of ſhips of burden as far up as the iſland of St. Joſeph.

It has been obſerved by travellers that the entrance into Lake Superior, from theſe Straights, affords one of the moſt pleaſing proſpects in the world. The place in which this might be viewed to the greateſt advantage, is juſt at the opening of the lake, from whence may be ſeen on the left, many beautiful little iſlands that extend a conſiderable way before you; and on the right, an agreeable ſucceſſion of ſmall points of land, that project a little way into the water, and contribute, with the iſlands, to render this delightful baſon (as it might be termed) calm and ſecure from the ravages of thoſe tempeſtuous winds by which the adjoining lake is frequently troubled.

Lake

Lake Huron, into which you now enter from the Straights of St. Marie, is the next in magnitude to Lake Superior. It lies between forty-two and forty-six degrees of north latitude, and seventy-nine and eighty-five degrees of west longitude. Its shape is nearly triangular, and its circumference about one thousand miles.

On the north side of it lies an island that is remarkable for being near an hundred miles in length, and no more than eight miles broad. This island is known by the name of Manataulin, which signifies a Place of Spirits, and is considered by the Indians as sacred as those already mentioned in Lake Superior.

About the middle of the south-west side of this lake is Saganaum Bay. The capes that separate this bay from the lake, are about eighteen miles distant from each other; near the middle of the intermediate space stand two islands, which greatly tend to facilitate the passage of canoes and small vessels, by affording them shelter, as without this security it would not be prudent to venture across so wide a sea; and the coasting round the bay would make the voyage long and tedious. This bay is about eighty

eighty miles in length, and in general about eighteen or twenty miles broad.

Nearly half way between Saganaum Bay and the north-weſt corner of the Lake lies another, which is termed Thunder Bay. The Indians, who have frequented theſe parts from time immemorial, and every European traveller that has paſſed through it, have unanimouſly agreed to call it by this name, on account of the continual thunder they have always obſerved here. The bay is about nine miles broad, and the ſame in length, and whilſt I was paſſing over it, which took me up near twenty-four hours, it thundered and lightened during the greateſt part of the time to an exceſſive degree.

There appeared to be no viſible reaſon for this that I could diſcover, nor is the country in general ſubject to thunder; the hills that ſtood around were not of a remarkable height, neither did the external parts of them ſeem to be covered with any ſulphureous ſubſtance. But as this phænomenon muſt originate from ſome natural cauſe, I conjecture that the ſhores of the bay, or the adjacent mountains, are either impregnated with an un-

common quantity of ſulphureous matter, or contain ſome metal or mineral apt to attract in a great degree the electrical particles that are hourly borne over them by the paſſant clouds. But the ſolution of this, and thoſe other philoſophical remarks which caſually occur throughout theſe pages, I leave to the diſcuſſion of abler heads.

The fiſh in Lake Huron are much the ſame as thoſe in Lake Superior. Some of the land on its banks is very fertile, and proper for cultivation, but in other parts it is ſandy and barren. The promontory that ſeparates this lake from Lake Michegan, is compoſed of a vaſt plain, upwards of one hundred miles long, but varying in its breadth, being from ten to fifteen miles broad. This track, as I have before obſerved, is divided into almoſt an equal portion between the Ottowaw and Chipéway Indians. At the north-eaſt corner this lake has a communication with Lake Michegan, by the Straights of Michillimackinac already deſcribed.

I had like to have omitted a very extraordinary circumſtance relative to theſe Straights. According to obſervations made by

by the French, whilſt they were in poſſeſſion of the fort, although there is no diurnal flood or ebb to be perceived in theſe waters, yet, from an exact attention to their ſtate, a periodical alteration in them has been diſcovered. It was obſerved that they aroſe by gradual, but almoſt imperceptible degrees till they had reached the height of about three feet. This was accompliſhed in ſeven years and a half; and in the ſame ſpace they as gently decreaſed, till they had reached their former ſituation; ſo that in fifteen years they had completed this inexplicable revolution. At the time I was there the truth of theſe obſervations could not be confirmed by the Engliſh, as they had then been only a few years in poſſeſſion of the fort; but they all agreed that ſome alteration in the limits of the Straights was apparent. All theſe lakes are ſo affected by the winds, as ſometimes to have the appearance of a tide, according as they happen to blow; but this is only temporary and partial.

A great number of the Chipéway Indians live ſcattered around this Lake, particularly near Saganaum Bay. On its

banks are found an amazing quantity of the ſand cherries, and in the adjacent country nearly the ſame fruits as thoſe that grow about the other lakes.

From the Falls of St. Marie I leiſurely proceeded back to Michillimackinac, and arrived there the beginning of November 1767, having been fourteen months on this extenſive tour, travelled near four thouſand miles, and viſited twelve nations of Indians lying to the weſt and north of this place. The winter ſetting in ſoon after my arrival, I was obliged to tarry there till the June following, the navigation over Lake Huron for large veſſels not being open, on account of the ice, till that time. Meeting here with ſociable company, I paſſed theſe months very agreeably, and without finding the hours tedious.

One of my chief amuſements was that of fiſhing for trouts. Though the Straights were covered with ice, we found means to make holes through it, and letting down ſtrong lines of fifteen yards in length, to which were fixed three or four hooks baited with the ſmall fiſh before deſcribed, we frequently caught two at a time of

forty

forty pounds weight each; but the common ſize is from ten to twenty pounds. Theſe are moſt delicious food. The method of preſerving them during the three months the winter generally laſts, is by hanging them up in the air; and in one night they will be frozen ſo hard, that they will keep as well as if they were cured with ſalt.

I have only pointed out in the plan of my travels the circuit I made from my leaving Michillimackinac till I arrived again at that fort. Thoſe countries that lie nearer to the colonies have been ſo often and ſo minutely deſcribed, that any further account of them would be uſeleſs. I ſhall therefore only give my Readers in the remainder of my journal, as I at firſt propoſed, a deſcription of the other great lakes of Canada, many of which I have navigated over, and relate at the ſame time a few particular incidents that I truſt will not be found inapplicable or unentertaining.

In June 1768 I left Michillimackinac, and returned in the Gladwyn Schooner, a veſſel of about eighty tons burthen, over Lake Huron to Lake St. Claire, where we

left the ſhip, and proceeded in boats to Detroit. This lake is about ninety miles in circumference, and by the way of Huron River, which runs from the ſouth corner of Lake Huron, receives the waters of the three great lakes, Superior, Michegan, and Huron. Its form is rather round, and in ſome places it is deep enough for the navigation of large veſſels, but towards the middle of it there is a bar of ſand, which prevents thoſe that are loaded from paſſing over it. Such as are in ballaſt only may find water ſufficient to carry them quite through; the cargoes, however, of ſuch as are freighted muſt be taken out, and after being tranſported acroſs the bar in boats, reſhipped again.

The river that runs from Lake St. Claire to Lake Erie (or rather the Straight, for thus it might be termed from its name) is called Detroit, which is in French, the Straight. It runs nearly ſouth, has a gentle current, and depth of water ſufficient for ſhips of conſiderable burthen. The town of Detroit is ſituated on the weſtern banks of this river, about nine miles below Lake St. Claire.

Almoſt

Almoſt oppoſite, on the eaſtern ſhore, is the village of the ancient Hurons: a tribe of Indians which have been treated of by ſo many writers, that adhering to the reſtrictions I have laid myſelf under of only deſcribing places and people little known, or incidents that have paſſed unnoticed by others, I ſhall omit giving a deſcription of them. A miſſionary of the order of Carthuſian Friars, by permiſſion of the biſhop of Canada, reſides among them.

The banks of the River Detroit, both above and below theſe towns, are covered with ſettlements that extend more than twenty miles; the country being exceedingly fruitful, and proper for the cultivation of wheat, Indian corn, oats, and peas. It has alſo many ſpots of fine paſturage; but as the inhabitants, who are chiefly French that ſubmitted to the Engliſh government after the conqueſt of theſe parts by General Amherſt, are more attentive to to the Indian trade than to farming, it is but badly cultivated.

The town of Detroit contains upwards of one hundred houſes. The ſtreets are ſomewhat regular, and have a range of

very convenient and handſome barracks, with a ſpacious parade at the ſouth end. On the weſt ſide lies the King's garden belonging to the governor, which is very well laid out and kept in good order. The fortifications of the town conſiſt of a ſtrong ſtockade made of round piles, fixed firmly in the ground, and lined with paliſades. Theſe are defended by ſome ſmall baſtions, on which are mounted a few indifferent cannon of an inconſiderable ſize, juſt ſufficient for its defence againſt the Indians, or an enemy not provided with artillery.

The garriſon, in time of peace, conſiſts of two hundred men commanded by a field officer, who acts as chief magiſtrate under the governor of Canada. Mr. Turnbull, captain of the 60th regiment, or Royal Americans, was commandant when I happened to be there. This gentleman was deſervedly eſteemed and reſpected, both by the inhabitants and traders, for the propriety of his conduct; and I am happy to have an opportunity of thus publickly making my acknowledgments to him, for the civilities I received from him during my ſtay.

In

In the year 1762, in the month of July, it rained on this town and the parts adjacent, a ſulphureous water of the colour and conſiſtence of ink; ſome of which being collected into bottles, and wrote with appeared perfectly intelligible on the paper, and anſwered every purpoſe of that uſeful liquid. Soon after, the Indian wars already ſpoken of, broke out in theſe parts. I mean not to ſay that this incident was ominous of them, notwithſtanding it is well known that innumerable well atteſted inſtances of extraordinary phænomena happening before extraordinary events, have been recorded in almoſt every age by hiſtorians of veracity; I only relate the circumſtances as a fact of which I was informed by many perſons of undoubted probity, and leave my Readers, as I have hitherto done, to draw their own concluſions from it.

Pontiac, under whom the party that ſurprized Fort Michillimackinac, as related in the former part of this work, acted, was an enterprizing chief or head-warrior of the Miames. During the late war between the Engliſh and the French he had been a ſteady friend to the latter, and

and continued his inveteracy to the former even after peace had been concluded between theſe two nations. Unwilling to put an end to the depredations he had been ſo long engaged in, he collected an army of confederate Indians, conſiſting of the nations before enumerated, with an intention to renew the war. However, inſtead of openly attacking the Engliſh ſettlements, he laid a ſcheme for taking by ſurprize thoſe forts on the extremities which they had lately gained poſſeſſion of.

How well the party he detached to take Fort Michillimackinac ſucceeded, the Reader already knows. To get into his hands Detroit, a place of greater conſequence, and much better guarded, required greater reſolution, and more conſummate art. He of courſe took the management of this expedition on himſelf, and drew near it with the principal body of his troops. He was however prevented from carrying his deſigns into execution by an apparently trivial and unforeſeen circumſtance. On ſuch does the fate of mighty Empires frequently depend!

The

The town of Detroit, when Pontiac formed his plan, was garriſoned by about three hundred men commanded by Major Gladwyn, a gallant officer. As at that time every appearance of war was at an end, and the Indians ſeemed to be on a friendly footing, Pontiac approached the Fort, without exciting any ſuſpicions in the breaſt of the governor or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little diſtance from it, and ſent to let the commandant know that he was come to trade; and being deſirous of brightening the chain of peace between the Engliſh and his nation, deſired that he and his chiefs may be admitted to hold a council with him. The governor ſtill unſuſpicious, and not in the leaſt doubting the ſincerity of the Indians, granted their general's requeſt, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

The evening of that day, an Indian woman who had been employed by Major Gladwyn to make him a pair of Indian ſhoes, out of curious elk-ſkin, brought them home. The Major was ſo pleaſed with them, that, intending theſe as a preſent for a friend, he ordered her to take

take the remainder back, and make it into others for himſelf. He then directed his ſervant to pay her for thoſe ſhe had done, and diſmiſſed her. The woman went to the door that led to the ſtreet, but no further; ſhe there loitered about as if ſhe had not finiſhed the buſineſs on which ſhe came. A ſervant at length obſerved her, and aſked her why ſhe ſtaid there; ſhe gave him, however, no anſwer.

Some ſhort time after, the governor himſelf ſaw her; and enquired of his ſervant what occaſioned her ſtay. Not being able to get a ſatisfactory anſwer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When ſhe came into his preſence he deſired to know what was the reaſon of her loitering about, and not haſtening home before the gates were ſhut, that ſhe might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him, after much heſitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodneſs towards her, ſhe was unwilling to take away the remainder of the ſkin, becauſe he put ſo great a value upon it; and yet had not been able to prevail upon herſelf to tell him

him ſo. He then aſked her, why ſhe was more reluctant to do ſo now, than ſhe had been when ſhe made the former pair. With increaſed reluctance ſhe anſwered, that ſhe never ſhould be able to bring them back.

His curioſity being now excited, he inſiſted on her diſcloſing to him the ſecret that ſeemed to be ſtruggling in her boſom for utterance. At laſt, on receiving a promiſe that the intelligence ſhe was about to give him ſhould not turn to her prejudice, and that if it appeared to be beneficial ſhe ſhould be rewarded for it, ſhe informed him, that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having maſſacred the garriſon and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That for this purpoſe all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council-room had cut their guns ſhort, ſo that they could conceal them under their blankets; with which, at a ſignal given by their general on delivering the belt, they were all to riſe up, and inſtantly to fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately

diately to ruſh into the town, where they would find themſelves ſupported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the ſitting of the council, under pretence of trading, but privately armed in the ſame manner. Having gained from the woman every neceſſary particular relative to the plot, and alſo the means by which ſhe acquired a knowledge of them, he diſmiſſed her with injunctions of ſecrecy, and a promiſe of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

The intelligence the governor had juſt received, gave him great uneaſineſs; and he immediately conſulted the officer who was next to him in command on the ſubject. But that gentleman conſidering the information as a ſtory invented for ſome artful purpoſes, adviſed him to pay no attention to it. This concluſion however had happily no weight with him. He thought it prudent to conclude it to be true, till he was convinced that it was not ſo; and therefore, without revealing his ſuſpicions to any other perſon, he took every needful precaution that the time

time would admit of. He walked round the fort during the whole night, and ſaw himſelf that every centinel was on duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

As he traverſed the ramparts which lay neareſt to the Indian camp, he heard them in high feſtivity, and, little imagining that their plot was diſcovered, probably pleaſing themſelves with the anticipation of their ſucceſs. As ſoon as the morning dawned, he ordered all the garriſon under arms; and then imparting his apprehenſions to a few of the principal officers, gave them ſuch directions as he thought neceſſary. At the ſame time he ſent round to all the traders, to inform them, that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he deſired they would have their arms ready, and repel every attempt of that kind.

About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived; and were conducted to the council-chamber, where the governor and his principal officers, each with piſtols in their belts, awaited his arrival. As

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the Indians paſſed on, they could not help obſerving that a greater number of troops than uſual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No ſooner were they entered, and ſeated on the ſkins prepared for them, than Pontiac aſked the governor on what occaſion his young men, meaning the ſoldiers, were thus drawn up, and parading the ſtreets. He received for anſwer, that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exerciſe.

The Indian chief-warrior now began his ſpeech, which contained the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip and good-will towards the Engliſh; and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman's information, was to be the ſignal for his chiefs to fire, the governor and all his attendants drew their ſwords half-way out of their ſcabbards; and the ſoldiers at the ſame inſtant made a clattering with their arms before the doors, which had been purpoſely left open. Pontiac, though one of the boldeſt of men, immediately turned pale, and trembled; and inſtead of giving the belt

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in the manner propoſed, delivered it according to the uſual way. His chiefs, who had impatiently expected the ſignal, looked at each other with aſtoniſhment, but continued quiet, waiting the reſult.

The governor in his turn made a ſpeech; but inſtead of thanking the great warrior for the profeſſions of friendſhip he had juſt uttered, he accuſed him of being a traitor He told him that the Engliſh, who knew every thing, were convinced of his treachery and villainous deſigns; and as a proof that they were well acquainted with his moſt ſecret thoughts and intentions, he ſtepped towards the Indian chief that ſat neareſt to him, and drawing aſide his blanket diſcovered the ſhortened firelock. This entirely diſconcerted the Indians, and fruſtrated their deſign.

He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they deſired an audience, that their perſons ſhould be ſafe, he would hold his promiſe inviolable, though they ſo little deſerved it. However he adviſed them to make the beſt of their way out of the fort, leſt his young men, on being acquainted with

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their treacherous purpoſes, ſhould cut every one of them to pieces. Pontiac endeavoured to contradict the accuſation, and to make excuſes for his ſuſpicious conduct; but the governor, ſatisfied of the falſity of his proteſtations, would not liſten to him. The Indians immediately left the fort, but inſtead of being ſenſible of the governor's generous behaviour, they threw off the maſk, and the next day made a regular attack upon it.

Major Gladwyn has not eſcaped cenſure for this miſtaken lenity; for probably had he kept a few of the principal chiefs priſoners, whilſt he had them in his power, he might have been able to have brought the whole confederacy to terms, and have prevented a war. But he atoned for this overſight, by the gallant defence he made for more than a year, amidſt a variety of diſcouragements.

During that period ſome very ſmart ſkirmiſhes happened between the beſiegers and the garriſon, of which the following was the principal and moſt bloody. Captain Delzel, a brave officer, prevailed on the governor to give him the command

of

of about two hundred men, and to permit him to attack the enemy's camp. This being complied with, he ſallied from the town before day-break; but Pontiac, receiving from ſome of his ſwift-footed warriors, who were conſtantly employed in watching the motions of the garriſon, timely intelligence of their deſign, he collected together the choiceſt of his troops, and met the detachment at ſome diſtance from his camp, near a place ſince called Bloody-Bridge. As the Indians were vaſtly ſuperior in numbers to captain Delzel's party, he was ſoon overpowered and driven back. Being now nearly ſurrounded, he made a vigorous effort to regain the bridge he had juſt croſſed, by which alone he could find a retreat; but in doing this he loſt his life, and many of his men fell with him. However, Major Rogers, the ſecond in command, aſſiſted by Lieutenant Breham, found means to draw off the ſhattered remains of their little army, and conducted them into the fort.

Thus conſiderably reduced, it was with difficulty the Major could defend the town; notwithſtanding which, he held

out againſt the Indians till he was relieved, as after this they made but few attacks on the place, and only continued to blockade it.

The Gladwyn Schooner (that in which I afterwards took my paſſage from Michillimackinac to Detroit, and which I ſince learn was loſt with all her crew on Lake Erie, through the obſtinacy of the commander, who could not be prevailed upon to take in ſufficient ballaſt) arrived about this time near the town with a reinforcement and neceſſary ſupplies. But before this veſſel could reach the place of its deſtination, it was moſt vigorouſly attacked by a detachment from Pontiac's army. The Indians ſurrounded it in their canoes, and made great havock among the crew. At length the captain of the ſchooner with a conſiderable number of his men being killed, and the ſavages beginning to climb up its ſides from every quarter, the Lieutenant (Mr. Jacobs, who afterwards commanded, and was loſt in it) being determined that the ſtores ſhould not fall into the enemy's hands, and ſeeing no other alternative, ordered the gunner to ſet fire to the powder-room, and

blow

blow the ſhip up. This order was on the point of being executed, when a chief of the Hurons, who underſtood the Engliſh language, gave out to his friends the intention of the commander. On receiving this intelligence the Indians hurried down the ſides of the ſhip with the greateſt precipitation, and got as far from it as poſſible; whilſt the commander immediately took advantage of their conſternation, and arrived without any further obſtruction at the town.

This ſeaſonable ſupply gave the garriſon freſh ſpirits; and Pontiac being now convinced that it would not be in his power to reduce the place, propoſed an accommodation; the governor wiſhing as much to get rid of ſuch troubleſome enemies, who obſtructed the intercourſe of the traders with the neighbouring nations, liſtened to his propoſals, and having procured advantageous terms, agreed to a peace. The Indians ſoon after ſeparated, and returned to their different provinces; nor have they ſince thought proper to diſturb, at leaſt in any great degree, the tranquillity of theſe parts.

Pontiac henceforward ſeemed to have laid aſide the animoſity he had hitherto borne towards the Engliſh, and apparently became their zealous friend. To reward this new attachment, and to inſure a continuance of it, government allowed him a handſome penſion. But his reſtleſs and intriguing ſpirit would not ſuffer him to be grateful for this allowance, and his conduct at length grew ſuſpicious; ſo that going, in the year 1767, to hold a council in the country of the Illinois, a faithful Indian, who was either commiſſioned by one of the Engliſh governors, or inſtigated by the love he bore the Engliſh nation, attended him as a ſpy; and being convinced from the ſpeech Pontiac made in the council that he ſtill retained his former prejudices againſt thoſe for whom he now profeſſed a friendſhip, he plunged his knife into his heart, as ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, and laid him dead on the ſpot.

But to return from this digreſſion.

Lake Erie receives the waters by which it is ſupplied from the three great lakes, through the Straights of Detroit, that lie at its north-weſt corner. This Lake is

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ſituated between forty-one and forty-three degrees of north latitude, and between ſeventy-eight and eighty-three degrees of weſt longitude. It is near three hundred miles long from eaſt to weſt, and about forty in its broadeſt part: and a remarkable long narrow point lies on its north ſide, that projects for ſeveral miles into the lake towards the ſouth-eaſt.

There are ſeveral iſlands near the weſt end of it ſo infeſted with rattle-ſnakes, that it is very dangerous to land on them. It is impoſſible that any place can produce a greater number of all kinds of theſe reptiles than this does, particularly of the water-ſnake. The Lake is covered near the banks of the iſlands with the large pond-lily; the leaves of which lie on the ſurface of the water ſo thick, as to cover it entirely for many acres together; and on each of theſe lay, when I paſſed over it, wreaths of water-ſnakes baſking in the ſun, which amounted to myriads.

The moſt remarkable of the different ſpecies that infeſt this Lake, is the hiſſing-ſnake, which is of the ſmall ſpeckled kind, and about eighteen inches long. When any thing approaches, it flattens

itſelf in a moment, and its ſpots, which are of various dyes, become viſibly brighter through rage; at the ſame time it blows from its mouth with great force a ſubtile wind, that is reported to be of a nauſeous ſmell; and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a decline, that in a few months muſt prove mortal, there being no remedy yet diſcovered which can counteract its baneful influence.

The ſtones and pebbles on the ſhores of this Lake are moſt of them tinged, in a greater or leſs degree, with ſpots that reſemble braſs in their colour, but which are of a ſulphureous nature. Small pieces, about the ſize of hazle-nuts, of the ſame kinds of ore, are found on the ſands that lie on its banks, and under the water.

The navigation of this Lake is eſteemed more dangerous than any of the others on account of many high lands that lie on the borders of it, and project into the water in a perpendicular direction for many miles together; ſo that whenever ſudden ſtorms ariſe, canoes and boats are frequently loſt, as there is no place for them to find a ſhelter.

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This Lake diſcharges its waters at the north-eaſt end, into the River Niagara, which runs north and ſouth, and is about thirty-ſix miles in length; from whence it falls into Lake Ontario. At the entrance of this river, on its eaſtern ſhore, lies Fort Niagara; and, about eighteen miles further up, thoſe remarkable Falls which are eſteemed one of the moſt extraordinary productions of nature at preſent known.

As theſe have been viſited by ſo many travellers, and ſo frequently deſcribed, I ſhall omit giving a particular deſcription of them, and only obſerve, that the waters by which they are ſupplied, after taking their riſe near two thouſand miles to the north-weſt, and paſſing through the Lakes Superior, Michegan, Huron, and Erie, during which they have been receiving conſtant accumulations, at length ruſh down a ſtupendous precipice of one hundred and forty feet perpendicular; and in a ſtrong rapid, that extends to the diſtance of eight or nine miles below, fall nearly as much more: this River ſoon after empties itſelf into Lake Ontario.

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The noiſe of theſe Falls might be heard an amazing way. I could plainly diſtinguiſh them in a calm morning more than twenty miles. Others have ſaid that at particular times, and when the wind ſits fair, the ſound of them reaches fifteen leagues.

The land about the Falls is exceedingly hilly and uneven, but the greateſt part of that on the Niagara River is very good, eſpecially for graſs and paſturage.

Fort Niagara ſtands nearly at the entrance of the weſt end of Lake Ontario, and on the eaſt part of the Straights of Niagara. It was taken from the French in the year 1759, by the forces under the command of Sir William Johnſon, and at preſent is defended by a conſiderable garriſon.

Lake Ontario is the next, and leaſt of the five great Lakes of Canada. Its ſituation is between forty-three and forty-five degrees of latitude, and between ſeventy-ſix and ſeventy-nine degrees of weſt longitude. The form of it is nearly oval, its greateſt length being from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and in circumference, about ſix hundred miles. Near the ſouth-eaſt

part

part it receives the waters of the Oſwego River, and on the north-eaſt diſcharges itſelf into the River Cataraqui. Not far from the place where it iſſues, Fort Frontenac formerly ſtood, which was taken from the French during the laſt war, in the year 1758, by a ſmall army of Provincials under Colonel Bradſtreet.

At the entrance of Oſwego River ſtands a fort of the ſame name, garriſoned only at preſent by an inconſiderable party. This fort was taken in the year 1756 by the French, when a great part of the garriſon, which conſiſted of the late Shirley's and Pepperil's regiments, were maſſacred in cold blood by the ſavages.

In Lake Ontario are taken many ſorts of fiſh, among which is the Oſwego Baſs, of an excellent flavour, and weighing about three or four pounds. There is alſo a ſort called the Cat-head or Pout, which are in general very large, ſome of them weighing eight or ten pounds; and they are eſteemed a rare diſh when properly dreſſed.

On the north-weſt parts of this Lake, and to the ſouth-eaſt of Lake Huron, is a tribe of Indians called the Miſſiſauges, whoſe town is denominated Toronto, from

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the lake on which it lies; but they are not very numerous. The country about Lake Ontario, especially the more north and eastern parts, is composed of good land, and in time may make very flourishing settlements.

The Oniada Lake, situated near the head of the River Oswego, receives the waters of Wood-Creek, which takes its rise not far from the Mohawks River. These two lie so adjacent to each other, that a junction is effected by sluices at Fort Stanwix, about twelve miles from the mouth of the former. This Lake is about thirty miles long from east to west, and near fifteen broad. The country around it belongs to the Oniada Indians.

Lake Champlain, the next in size to Lake Ontario, and which lies nearly east from it, is about eighty miles in length, north and south, and in its broadest part fourteen. It is well stored with fish, and the lands that lie on all the borders of it, or about its rivers, very good.

Lake George, formerly called by the French Lake St. Sacrament, lies to the south-west of the last-mentioned lake,

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and is about thirty-five miles long from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, but of no great breadth. The country around it is very mountainous, but in the vallies the land is tolerably good.

When theſe two lakes were firſt diſcovered, they were known by no other name than that of the Iroquois Lakes; and I believe in the firſt plans taken of thoſe parts were ſo denominated. The Indians alſo that were then called the Iroquois, are ſince known by the name of the Five Mohawk Nations, and the Mohawks of Canada. In the late war, the former, which conſiſt of the Onondagoes, the Oniadas, the Senecas, the Tuſcarories, and Iroondocks, fought on the ſide of the Engliſh: the latter, which are called the Cohnawaghans, and St. Francis Indians, joined the French.

A vaſt tract of land that lies between the two laſt-mentioned lakes and Lake Ontario, was granted in the year 1629 by the Plymouth Company, under a patent they had received from King James I. to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to Captain John Maſon, the head of that family, afterwards diſtinguiſhed from others of the

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ſame name by the Maſons of Connecticut. The countries ſpecified in this grant are ſaid to begin ten miles from the heads of the rivers that run from the eaſt and ſouth into Lake George and Lake Champlain; and continuing from theſe in a direct line weſtward, extend to the middle of Lake Ontario; from thence, being bounded by the Cataraqui, or the River of the Iroquois, they take their courſe through Montreal, as far as Fort Sorrell, which lies at the junction of this river with the Richlieu; and from that point are incloſed by the laſt-mentioned river till it returns back to the two lakes.

This immenſe ſpace was granted, by the name of the Province of Laconia, to the aforeſaid gentlemen on ſpecified conditions, and under certain penalties; but none of theſe amounted, in caſe of omiſſion in the fulfillment of any part of them, to forfeiture, a fine only could be exacted.

On account of the continual wars to which theſe parts have been ſubject, from their ſituation between the ſettlements of the Engliſh, the French, and the Indians, this grant has been ſuffered to lie dormant by

by the real proprietors. Notwithſtanding which, ſeveral towns have been ſettled ſince the late war, on the borders of Lake Champlain, and grants made to different people by the governor of New York of part of theſe territories, which are now become annexed to that province.

There are a great number of lakes on the north of Canada, between Labrador, Lake Superior, and Hudſon's Bay, but theſe are comparatively ſmall. As they lie out of the track that I purſued, I ſhall only give a ſummary account of them. The moſt weſterly of theſe are the Lakes Nipiſing and Tamiſcaming. The firſt lies at the head of the French River, and runs into Lake Huron; the other on the Ottowaw River, which empties itſelf into the Cataraqui, at Montreal. Theſe lakes are each about one hundred miles in circumference.

The next is Lake Miſtaſſin, on the head of Rupert's River, that falls into James's Bay. This Lake is ſo irregular from the large points of land by which it is interſected on every ſide, that it is difficult either to deſcribe its ſhape, or to aſcertain

aſcertain its ſize. It however appears on the whole to be more than two hundred miles in circumference.

Lake St. John, which is about eighty miles round, and of a circular form, lies on the Saguenay River, directly north of Quebec, and falls into the St. Lawrence, ſomewhat north-eaſt of that city. Lake Manikouagone lies near the head of the Black River, which empties itſelf into the St. Lawrence to the eaſtward of the laſt-mentioned river, near the coaſt of Labrador, and is about ſixty miles in circumference. Lake Pertibi, Lake Wincktagan, Lake Etchelaugon, and Lake Papenouagane, with a number of other ſmall lakes, lie near the heads of the Buſtard River to the north of the St. Lawrence. Many others, which it is unneceſſary to particularize here, are alſo found between the Lakes Huron and Ontario.

The whole of thoſe I have enumerated, amounting to upwards of twenty, are within the limits of Canada; and from this account it might be deduced, that the northern parts of North America, through theſe numerous inland ſeas, contain

tain a greater quantity of water than any other quarter of the globe.

In October 1768 I arrived at Boſton, having been abſent from it on this expedition two years and five months, and during that time travelled near ſeven thouſand miles. From thence, as ſoon as I had properly digeſted my Journal and Charts, I ſet out for England, to communicate the diſcoveries I had made, and to render them beneficial to the kingdom. But the proſecution of my plans for reaping theſe advantages have hitherto been obſtructed by the unhappy diviſions that have been fomented between Great Britain and the Colonies by their mutual enemies. Should peace once more be reſtored, I doubt not but that the countries I have deſcribed will prove a more abundant ſource of riches to this nation than either its Eaſt or Weſt Indian ſettlements; and I ſhall not only pride myſelf, but ſincerely rejoice in being the means of pointing out to it ſo valuable an acquiſition.

I cannot conclude the account of my extenſive travels, without expreſſing my gratitude to that beneficent Being who inviſibly protected me through thoſe perils

which unavoidably attended ſo long a tour among fierce and untutored ſavages.

At the ſame time let me not be accuſed of vanity or preſumption, if I declare that the motives alledged in the Introduction of this work, were not the only ones that induced me to engage in this arduous undertaking. My views were not ſolely confined to the advantages that might accrue, either to myſelf, or the community to which I belonged; but nobler purpoſes contributed principally to urge me on.

The confined ſtate, both with regard to civil and religious improvements, in which ſo many of my fellow creatures remained, aroused within my boſom an irreſiſtible inclination to explore the almoſt unknown regions which they inhabited; and, as a preparatory ſtep towards the introduction of more poliſhed manners, and more humane ſentiments, to gain a knowledge of their language, cuſtoms, and principles.

I confeſs that the little benefit too many of the Indian nations have hitherto received from their intercourſe with thoſe who denominate themſelves Chriſtians, did not tend to encourage my charitable purpoſes;

poſes; yet, as many, though not the generality, might receive ſome benefit from the introduction among them of the polity and religion of the Europeans, without retaining only the errors or vices that from the depravity and perverſion of their profeſſors are unhappily attendant on theſe, I determined to perſevere.

Nor could I flatter myſelf that I ſhould be able to accompliſh alone this great deſign; however, I was willing to contribute as much as lay in my power towards it. In all public undertakings would every one do this, and furniſh with alacrity his particular ſhare towards it, what ſtupendous works might not be completed.

It is true that the Indians are not without ſome ſenſe of religion, and ſuch as proves that they worſhip the Great Creator with a degree of purity unknown to nations who have greater opportunities of improvement; but their religious principles are far from being ſo faultleſs as deſcribed by a learned writer, or unmixed with opinions and ceremonies that greatly leſſen their excellency in this point. So that could the doctrines of genuine and vital Chriſtianity be introduced amo ig

them, pure and untainted as it flowed from the lips of its Divine Inſtitutor, it would certainly tend to clear away that ſuperſtitious or idolatrous droſs by which the rationality of their religious tenets are obſcured. Its mild and beneficent precepts would likewiſe conduce to ſoften their implacable diſpoſitions, and to refine their ſavage manners; an event moſt deſirable; and happy ſhall I eſteem myſelf if this publication ſhall prove the means of pointing out the path by which ſalutary inſtructions may be conveyed to them, and the converſion, though but of a few, be the conſequence.

Concluſion of the JOURNAL, &c.

OF

OF THE

ORIGIN, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE

OF THE

INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Of their ORIGIN.

THE means by which America received its first Inhabitants, have, since the time of its discovery by the Europeans, been the subject of numberless disquisitions. Was I to endeavour to collect the different opinions and reasonings of the various writers that have taken up the pen in defence of their conjectures, the enumeration would much exceed the bounds I have prescribed myself, and

oblige me to be leſs explicit on points of greater moment.

From the obſcurity in which this debate is enveloped, through the total diſuſe of letters among every nation of Indians on this extenſive continent, and the uncertainty of oral tradition at the diſtance of ſo many ages, I fear, that even after the moſt minute inveſtigation we ſhall not be able to ſettle it with any great degree of certainty. And this apprehenſion will receive additional force, when it is conſidered that the diverſity of language which is apparently diſtinct between moſt of the Indians, tends to aſcertain that this population was not effected from one particular country, but from ſeveral neighbouring ones, and completed at different periods.

Moſt of the hiſtorians or travellers that have treated on the American Aborigines diſagree in their ſentiments relative to them. Many of the ancients are ſuppoſed to have known that this quarter of the globe not only exiſted, but alſo that it was inhabited. Plato in his Timæus has aſſerted, that beyond the iſland which he calls Atalantis, and which according to

his

his deſcription was ſituated in the weſtern Ocean, there were a great number of other iſlands, and behind thoſe a vaſt Continent.

Oviedo, a celebrated Spaniſh author of a much later date, has made no ſcruple to affirm that the Antilles are the famous Heſperides ſo often mentioned by the poets; which are at length reſtored to the kings of Spain, the deſcendants of King Heſperus, who lived upwards of three thouſand years ago, and from whom theſe iſlands received their name.

Two other Spaniards, the one, Father Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican, the other, Father Joſeph De Acoſta, a Jeſuit, have written on the origin of the Americans.

The former, who had been employed in the miſſions of Mexico and Peru, endeavoured to prove from the traditions of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and others, which he received on the ſpot, and from the variety of characters, cuſtoms, languages, and religion obſervable in the different countries of the new world, that different nations had contributed to the peopling of it.

The latter, Father De Acoſta, in his examination of the means by which the firſt Indians of America might have found a paſſage to that continent, diſcredits the concluſions of thoſe who have ſuppoſed it to be by ſea, becauſe no ancient author has made mention of the compaſs: and concludes, that it muſt be either by the north of Aſia and Europe, which adjoin to each other, or by thoſe regions that lie to the ſouthward of the Straights of Magellan. He alſo rejects the aſſertions of ſuch as have advanced that it was peopled by the Hebrews.

John De Laët, a Flemiſh writer, has controverted the opinions of theſe Spaniſh fathers, and of many others who have written on the ſame ſubject. The hypotheſis he endeavours to eſtabliſh, is, that America was certainly peopled by the Scythians or Tartars; and that the tranſmigration of theſe people happened ſoon after the diſperſion of Noah's grandſons. He undertakes to ſhow, that the moſt northern Americans have a greater reſemblance, not only in the features of their countenances, but alſo in their complexion and manner of living, to the Scythians,

Tartars,

Tartars, and Samoeides, than to any other nations.

In anſwer to Grotius, who had aſſerted that ſome of the Norwegians paſſed into America by way of Greenland, and over a vaſt continent, he ſays, that it is well known that Greenland was not diſcovered till the year 964; and both Gomera and Herrera inform us that the Chichimeques were ſettled on the Lake of Mexico in 721. He adds, that theſe ſavages, according to the uniform tradition of the Mexicans who diſpoſſeſſed them, came from the country ſince called New Mexico, and from the neighbourhood of California; conſequently North America muſt have been inhabited many ages before it could receive any inhabitants from Norway by way of Greenland.

It is no leſs certain, he obſerves, that the real Mexicans founded their empire in 902, after having ſubdued the Chichimeques, the Otomias, and other barbarous nations, who had taken poſſeſſion of the country round the Lake of Mexico, and each of whom ſpoke a language peculiar to themſelves. The real Mexicans are likewiſe ſuppoſed to come from ſome

of

of the countries that lie near California, and that they performed their journey for the moſt part by land; of courſe they could not come from Norway.

De Laët further adds, that though ſome of the inhabitants of North America may have entered it from the north-weſt, yet, as it is related by Pliny and ſome other writers, that on many of the iſlands near the weſtern coaſt of Africa, particularly on the Canaries, ſome ancient edifices were ſeen, it is highly probable from their being now deſerted, that the inhabitants may have paſſed over to America; the paſſage being neither long nor difficult. This migration, according to the calculation of thoſe authors, muſt have happened more than two thouſand years ago, at a time when the Spaniards were much troubled by the Carthaginians; from whom having obtained a knowledge of Navigation, and the conſtruction of ſhips, they might have retired to the Antilles, by the way of the weſtern iſles, which were exactly half way on their voyage.

He thinks alſo that Great Britain, Ireland, and the Orcades were extremely proper

proper to admit of a ſimilar conjecture. As a proof, he inſerts the following paſſage from the Hiſtory of Wales, written by Dr. David Powel in the year 1170.

This hiſtorian ſays, that Madoc, one of the ſons of Prince Owen Gwynnith, being diſguſted at the civil wars which broke out between his brothers, after the death of their father, fitted out ſeveral veſſels, and having provided them with every thing neceſſary for a long voyage, went in queſt of new lands to the weſtward of Ireland; there he diſcovered very fertile countries, but deſtitute of inhabitants; when landing part of his people, he returned to Britain, where he raiſed new levies, and afterwards tranſported them to his colony.

The Flemiſh Author then returns to the Scythians, between whom and the Americans he draws a parallel. He obſerves that ſeveral nations of them to the north of the Caſpian Sea led a wandering life; which, as well as many other of their cuſtoms, and way of living, agrees in many circumſtances with the Indians of America. And though the reſemblances are not abſolutely perfect, yet the emi-

grants,

grants, even before they left their own country, differed from each other, and went not by the ſame name. Their change of abode affected what remained.

He further ſays, that a ſimilar likeneſs exiſts between ſeveral American nations, and the Samoeides who are ſettled, according to the Ruſſian accounts, on the great River Oby. And it is more natural, continues he, to ſuppoſe that Colonies of theſe nations paſſed over to America by croſſing the icy ſea on their ſledges, than for the Norwegians to travel all the way Grotius has marked out for them.

This writer makes many other remarks that are equally ſenſible, and which appear to be juſt; but he intermixes with theſe ſome that are not ſo well-founded.

Emanuel de Moraez, a Portugeuſe, in his hiſtory of Brazil, aſſerts that America has been wholly peopled by the Carthaginians and Iſraelites. He brings as a proof of this aſſertion the diſcoveries the former are known to have made at a great diſtance beyond the coaſt of Africa. The progreſs of which being put a ſtop to by the

the ſenate of Carthage, thoſe who happened to be then in the newly diſcovered countries, being cut off from all communication with their countrymen, and deſtitute of many neceſſaries of life, fell into a ſtate of barbariſm. As to the Iſraelites, this author thinks that nothing but circumciſion is wanted in order to conſtitute a perfect reſemblance between them and the Brazilians.

George De Hornn, a learned Dutchman, has likewiſe written on this ſubject. He ſets out with declaring, that he does not believe it poſſible America could have been peopled before the flood, conſidering the ſhort ſpace of time which elapſed between the creation of the world and that memorable event. In the next place he lays it down as a principle, that after the deluge, men and other terreſtrial animals penetrated into that country both by ſea and by land; ſome through accident, and ſome from a formed deſign. That birds got thither by flight; which they were enabled to do by reſting on the rocks and iſlands that are ſcattered about in the Ocean.

He

He further obſerves, that wild beaſts may have found a free paſſage by land; and that if we do not meet with horſes or cattle (to which he might have added elephants, camels, rhinoceros, and beaſts of many other kinds) it is becauſe thoſe nations that paſſed thither, were either not acquainted with their uſe, or had no convenience to ſupport them.

Having totally excluded many nations that others have admitted as the probable firſt ſettlers of America, for which he gives ſubſtantial reaſons, he ſuppoſes that it began to be peopled by the north; and maintains, that the primitive colonies ſpread themſelves by the means of the iſthmus of Panama through the whole extent of the continent.

He believes that the firſt founders of the Indian Colonies were Scythians. That the Phœnicians and Carthaginians afterwards got footing in America acroſs the Atlantic Ocean, and the Chineſe by way of the Pacific. And that other nations might from time to time have landed there by one or other of theſe ways, or might poſſibly have been thrown on the coaſt by tempeſts: ſince, through the whole

whole extent of that Continent, both in its northern and ſouthern parts, we meet with undoubted marks of a mixture of the northern nations with thoſe who have come from other places. And laſtly, that ſome Jews and Chriſtians might have been carried there by ſuch like events, but that this muſt have happened at a time when the whole of the new world was already peopled.

After all, he acknowledges that great difficulties attend the determination of the queſtion. Theſe, he ſays, are occaſioned in the firſt place by the imperfect knowledge we have of the extremities of the globe, towards the north and ſouth pole; and in the next place to the havock which the Spaniards, the firſt diſcoverers of the new world, made among its moſt ancient monuments; as witneſs the great double road betwixt Quito and Cuzco, an undertaking ſo ſtupendous, that even the moſt magnificent of thoſe executed by the Romans cannot be compared to it.

He ſuppoſes alſo another migration of the Phœnicians, than thoſe already mentioned, to have taken place; and this was during

during a three years voyage made by the Tyrian fleet in the ſervice of King Solomon. He aſſerts on the authority of Joſephus, that the port at which this embarkation was made lay in the Mediterranean. The fleet, he adds, went in queſt of elephants teeth and peacocks to the weſtern Coaſt of Africa, which is Tarſiſh; then to Ophir for gold, which is Haité, or the iſland of Hiſpaniola; and in the latter opinion he is ſupported by Columbus, who, when he diſcovered that iſland, thought he could trace the furnaces in which the gold was refined.

To theſe migrations which preceded the Chriſtian æra, he adds many others of a later date from different nations, but theſe I have not time to enumerate. For the ſame reaſon I am obliged to paſs over numberleſs writers on this ſubject; and ſhall content myſelf with only giving the ſentiments of two or three more.

The firſt of theſe is Pierre De Charlevoix, a Frenchman, who, in his journal of a voyage to North America, made ſo lately as the year 1720, has recapitulated the opinions of a variety of authors on this head, to which he has ſubjoined his

own

own conjectures. But the latter cannot without ſome difficulty be extracted, as they are ſo interwoven with the paſſages he has quoted, that it requires much attention to diſcriminate them.

He ſeems to allow that America might have received its firſt inhabitants from Tartary and Hyrcania. This he confirms, by obſerving that the lions and tigers which are found in the former, muſt have come from thoſe countries, and whoſe paſſage ſerves for a proof that the two hemiſpheres join to the northward of Aſia. He then draws a corroboration of this argument, from a ſtory he ſays he has often heard related by Father Grollon, a French jeſuit, as an undoubted matter of fact.

This Father, after having laboured ſome time in the miſſions of New France, paſſed over to thoſe of China. One day as he was travelling in Tartary, he met a Huron woman whom he had formerly known in Canada. He aſked her by what adventure ſhe had been carried into a country ſo diſtant from her own. She made anſwer, that having been taken in

war, ſhe had been conducted from nation to nation, till ſhe had reached the place at which ſhe then was.

Monſieur Charlevoix ſays further, that he had been aſſured, another Jeſuit, paſſing through Nantz in his return from China, had related much ſuch another affair of a Spaniſh woman from Florida. She alſo had been taken by certain Indians, and given to thoſe of a more diſtant country; and by theſe again to another nation, till having thus been ſucceſſively paſſed from country to country, and traveled through regions extremely cold, ſhe at laſt found herſelf in Tartary. Here ſhe had married a Tartar, who had attended the conquerors into China, where ſhe was then ſettled.

He acknowledges as an allay to the probability of theſe ſtories, that thoſe who had ſailed fartheſt to the eaſtward of Aſia, by purſuing the Coaſt of Jeſſo or Kamtſchatka, have pretended that they had perceived the extremity of this continent; and from thence have concluded that there could not poſſibly be any communication by land. But he adds that

Francis

Francis Guella, a Spaniard, is ſaid to have aſſerted, that this ſeparation is no more than a ſtraight, about one hundred miles over, and that ſome late voyages of the Japoneſe give grounds to think that this ſtraight is only a bay, above which there is a paſſage over land.

He goes on to obſerve, that though there are few wild beaſts to be met with in North America, except a kind of tigers without ſpots, which are found in the country of the Iroquoiſe, yet towards the tropics there are lions and real tigers, which, notwithſtanding, might have come from Hyrcania and Tartary; for as by advancing gradually ſouthward they met with climates more agreeable to their natures, they have in time abandoned the northern countries.

He quotes both Solinus and Pliny to prove that the Scythian Anthropophagi once depopulated a great extent of country, as far as the promontory Tabin; and alſo an author of later date, Mark Pol, a Venetian, who, he ſays, tells us, that to the north-eaſt of China and Tartary there are vaſt uninhabited countries, which might be ſufficient to confirm any conjec-

tures concerning the retreat of a great number of Scythians into America.

To this he adds, that we find in the antients the names of ſome of theſe nations. Pliny ſpeaks of the Tabians; Solinus mentions the Apuleans, who had for neighbours the Maſſagetes, whom Pliny ſince aſſures us to have entirely diſappeared. Ammianus Marcellinus expreſly tells us, that the fear of the Anthropophagi obliged ſeveral of the inhabitants of thoſe countries to take refuge elſewhere. From all theſe authorities Monſ. Charlevoix concludes, that there is at leaſt room to conjecture that more than one nation in America had a Scythian or Tartarian original.

He finiſhes his remarks on the authors he has quoted, by the following obſervations: It appears to me that this controverſy may be reduced to the two following articles; firſt, how the new world might have been peopled; and ſecondly, by whom, and by what means it has been peopled.

Nothing, he aſſerts, may be more eaſily anſwered than the firſt. America might have been peopled as the three other

other parts of the world have been. Many difficulties have been formed on this ſubject, which have been deemed inſolvable, but which are far from being ſo. The inhabitants of both hemiſpheres are certainly the deſcendants of the ſame father; the common parent of mankind received an expreſs command from heaven to people the whole world, and accordingly it has been peopled.

To bring this about it was neceſſary to overcome all difficulties that lay in the way, and they have been got over. Were theſe difficulties greater with reſpect to peopling the extremities of Aſia, Africa, and Europe, or the tranſporting men into the iſlands which lie at a conſiderable diſtance from thoſe continents, than to paſs over into America? certainly not.

Navigation, which has arrived at ſo great perfection within theſe three or four centuries, might poſſibly have been more perfect in thoſe early ages than at this day. Who can believe that Noah and his immediate deſcendants knew leſs of this art than we do? That the builder and pilot of the largeſt ſhip that ever was, a ſhip

that was formed to traverſe an unbounded ocean, and had ſo many ſhoals and quick-ſands to guard againſt, ſhould be ignorant of, or ſhould not have communicated to thoſe of his deſcendants who ſurvived him, and by whoſe means he was to execute the order of the Great Creator; I ſay, who can believe he ſhould not have communicated to them the art of ſailing upon an ocean, which was not only more calm and pacific, but at the ſame time confined within its ancient limits?

Admitting this, how eaſy is it to paſs, excluſive of the paſſage already deſcribed, by land from the coaſt of Africa to Brazil, from the Canaries to the Weſtern Iſlands, and from them to the Antilles? From the Britiſh Iſles, or the coaſt of France, to Newfoundland, the paſſage is neither long nor difficult; I might ſay as much of that from China to Japan; from Japan, or the Phillipines, to the Iſles Mariannes; and from thence to Mexico.

There are iſlands at a conſiderable diſtance from the continent of Aſia, where we have not been ſurprized to find inhabitants, why then ſhould we wonder to meet with people in America? Nor can

it

it be imagined that the grandſons of Noah, when they were obliged to ſeparate and ſpread themſelves in conformity to the deſigns of God, over the whole earth, ſhould find it abſolutely impoſſible to people almoſt one half of it.

I have been more copious in my extracts from this author than I intended, as his reaſons appear to be ſolid, and many of his obſervations juſt. From this encomium, however, I muſt exclude the ſtories he has introduced of the Huron and Floridan women, which I think I might venture to pronounce fabulous.

I ſhall only add, to give my Readers a more comprehenſive view of Monſ. Charlevoix's diſſertation, the method he propoſes to come at the truth of what we are in ſearch of.

The only means by which this can be done, he ſays, is by comparing the languages of the Americans with the different nations, from whence we might ſuppoſe they have peregrinated. If we compare the former with thoſe words that are conſidered as primitives, it might poſſibly ſet us upon ſome happy diſcovery. And this way of aſcending to the original of na-

tions, which is by far the leaſt equivocal, is not ſo difficult as might be imagined. We have had, and ſtill have, travellers and miſſionaries who have attained the languages that are ſpoken in all the provinces of the new world; it would only be neceſſary to make a collection of their grammars and vocabularies, and to collate them with the dead and living languages of the old world, that paſs for originals, and the ſimilarity might eaſily be traced. Even the different dialects, in ſpite of the alterations they have undergone, ſtill retain enough of the mother tongue to furniſh conſiderable lights.

Any enquiry into the manners, cuſtoms, religion, or traditions of the Americans, in order to diſcover by that means their origin, he thinks would prove fallacious. A diſquiſition of that kind, he obſerves, is only capable of producing a falſe light, more likely to dazzle, and to make us wander from the right path, than to lead us with certainty to the point propoſed.

Ancient traditions are effaced from the minds of ſuch as either have not, or for ſeveral ages have been without, thoſe helps that

that are neceſſary to preſerve them. And in this ſituation is full one half of the world. New events, and a new arrangement of things, give riſe to new traditions, which efface the former, and are themſelves effaced in turn. After one or two centuries have paſſed, there no longer remain any traces of the firſt traditions; and thus we are involved in a ſtate of uncertainty.

He concludes with the following remarks, among many others. Unforeſeen accidents, tempeſts, and ſhipwrecks, have certainly contributed to people every habitable part of the world: and ought we to wonder, after this, at perceiving certain reſemblances, both of perſons and manners, between nations that are moſt remote from each other, when we find ſuch a difference between thoſe that border on one another? As we are deſtitute of hiſtorical monuments, there is nothing, I repeat it, but a knowledge of the primitive languages that is capable of throwing any light upon theſe clouds of impenetrable darkneſs.

By this enquiry we ſhould at leaſt be ſatisfied,

ſatisfied, among that prodigious number of various nations inhabiting America, and differing ſo much in languages from each other, which are thoſe who make uſe of words totally and entirely different from thoſe of the old world, and who conſequently muſt be reckoned to have paſſed over to America in the earlieſt ages, and thoſe who, from the analogy of their language with ſuch as are at preſent uſed in the three other parts of the globe, leave room to judge that their migration has been more recent, and which ought to be attributed to ſhipwrecks, or to ſome accident ſimilar to thoſe which have been ſpoken of in the courſe of this treatiſe.

I ſhall only add the opinion of one author more before I give my own ſentiments on the ſubject, and that is of James Adair, Eſq; who reſided forty years among the Indians, and publiſhed the hiſtory of them in the year 1772. In his learned and ſyſtematical hiſtory of thoſe nations, inhabiting the weſtern parts of the moſt ſouthern of the American colonies, this gentleman without heſitation pro-

pronounces that the American Aborigines are deſcended from the Iſraelites, either whilſt they were a maritime power, or ſoon after their general captivity.

This deſcent he endeavours to prove from their religious rites, their civil and martial cuſtoms, their marriages, their funeral ceremonies, their manners, language, traditions, and from a variety of other particulars. And ſo complete is his conviction on this head, that he fancies he finds a perfect and indiſputable ſimilitude in each. Through all theſe I have not time to follow him, and ſhall therefore only give a few extracts to ſhow on what foundation he builds his conjectures, and what degree of credit he is entitled to on this point.

He begins with obſerving, that though ſome have ſuppoſed the Americans to be deſcended from the Chineſe, yet neither their religion, laws, or cuſtoms agree in the leaſt with thoſe of the Chineſe; which ſufficiently proves that they are not of this line. Beſides, as our beſt ſhips are now almoſt half a year in ſailing for China (our author does not here recollect that this is from a high northern latitude,

acroſs

acroſs the Line, and then back again greatly to the northward of it, and not directly athwart the Pacific Ocean for only one hundred and eleven degrees) or from thence to Europe, it is very unlikely they ſhould attempt ſuch dangerous diſcoveries, with their ſuppoſed ſmall veſſels, againſt rapid currents, and in dark and ſickly Monſoons.

He further remarks, that this is more particularly improbable, as there is reaſon to believe that this nation was unacquainted with the uſe of the loadſtone to direct their courſe. China, he ſays, is about eight thouſand miles diſtant from the American continent, which is twice as far as acroſs the Atlantic Ocean. And we are not informed by any ancient writer of their maritime ſkill, or ſo much as any inclination that way, beſides ſmall coaſting voyages. The winds blow likewiſe, with little variation from eaſt to weſt within the latitudes thirty and odd, north and ſouth; and therefore theſe could not drive them on the American coaſt, it lying directly contrary to ſuch a courſe.

Neither

Neither could perſons, according to this writer's account, ſail to America from the north by the way of Tartary or Ancient Scythia; that, from its ſituation, never having been or can be a maritime power; and it is utterly impracticable, he ſays, for any to come to America by ſea from that quarter. Beſides, the remaining traces of their religious ceremonies and civil and martial cuſtoms are quite oppoſite to the like veſtiges of the Old Scythians. Even in the moderate northern climates there is not to be ſeen the leaſt trace of any ancient ſtately buildings, or of any thick ſettlements, as are ſaid to remain in the leſs healthy regions of Peru and Mexico. And ſeveral of the Indian nations aſſure us, that they croſſed the Miſſiſſippi before they made their preſent northern ſettlements; which, connected with the former arguments, he concludes will ſufficiently explode that weak opinion of the American Aborigines being lineally deſcended from the Tartars or ancient Scythians.

Mr. Adair's reaſons for ſuppoſing that the Americans derive their origin from the Jews are,

Firſt,

Firſt, becauſe they are divided into tribes, and have chiefs over them as the Iſraelites had.

Secondly, becauſe, as by a ſtrict permanent divine precept, the Hebrew nation were ordered to worſhip, at Jeruſalem, Jehovah the true and living God, ſo do the Indians, ſtiling him Yohewah. The ancient Heathens, he adds, it is well known worſhipped a plurality of gods, but the Indians pay their religious devoirs to the Great beneficent ſupreme holy Spirit of Fire, who reſides, as they think, above the clouds, and on earth alſo with unpolluted people. They pay no adoration to images, or to dead perſons, neither to the celeſtial luminaries, to evil ſpirits, nor to any created beings whatever.

Thirdly, becauſe, agreeable to the theocracy or divine government of Iſrael, the Indians think the deity to be the immediate head of their ſtate.

Fourthly, becauſe, as the Jews believe in the miniſtration of angels, the Indians alſo believe that the higher regions are inhabited by good ſpirits.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, becauſe the Indian language and dialects appear to have the very idiom and genius of the Hebrew. Their words and ſentences being expreſſive, conciſe, emphatical, ſonorous, and bold; and often, both in letters, and ſignification, are ſynonimous with the Hebrew language.

Sixthly, becauſe they count their time after the manner of the Hebrews.

Seventhly, becauſe in conformity to, or after the manner of the Jews, they have their prophets, high-prieſts, and other religious orders.

Eighthly, becauſe their feſtivals, faſts, and religious rites have a great reſemblance to thoſe of the Hebrews.

Ninthly, becauſe the Indians, before they go to war, have many preparatory ceremonies of purification and faſting, like what is recorded of the Iſraelites.

Tenthly, becauſe the ſame taſte for ornaments, and the ſame kind are made uſe of by the Indians, as by the Hebrews.

Theſe and many other arguments of a ſimilar nature, Mr. Adair brings in ſupport of his favourite ſyſtem; but I ſhould imagine,

imagine, that if the Indians are really derived from the Hebrews, among their religious ceremonies, on which he chiefly ſeems to build his hypotheſis, the principal, that of circumciſion, would never have been laid aſide, and its very remembrance obliterated.

Thus numerous and diverſe are the opinions of thoſe who have hitherto written on this ſubject! I ſhall not, however, either endeavour to reconcile them, or to point out the errors of each, but proceed to give my own ſentiments on the origin of the Americans; which are founded on concluſions drawn from the moſt rational arguments of the writers I have mentioned, and from my own obſervations; the conſiſtency of theſe I ſhall leave to the judgment of my Readers.

The better to introduce my conjectures on this head, it is neceſſary firſt to aſcertain the diſtances between America and thoſe parts of the habitable globe that approach neareſt to it.

The Continent of America, as far as we can judge from all the reſearches that have been made near the poles, appears to

to be entirely ſeparated from the other quarters of the world. That part of Europe which approaches neareſt to it, is the coaſt of Greenland, lying in about ſeventy degrees of north latitude; and which reaches within twelve degrees of the coaſt of Labrador, ſituated on the north-eaſt borders of this continent. The coaſt of Guinea is the neareſt part of Africa; which lies about eighteen hundred and ſixty miles north-eaſt from the Brazils. The moſt eaſtern coaſt of Aſia, which extends to the Korean Sea on the north of China, projects north-eaſt through eaſtern Tartary and Kamſchatka to Siberia, in about ſixty degrees of north latitude. Towards which the weſtern coaſts of America, from California to the Straights of Annian, extend nearly north-weſt, and lie in about forty-ſix degrees of the ſame latitude.

Whether the Continent of America ſtretches any farther north than theſe ſtraights, and joins to the eaſtern parts of Aſia, agreeable to what has been aſſerted by ſome of the writers I have quoted, or whether the lands that have been diſcovered in the intermediate parts

are only an archipelago of iſlands verging towards the oppoſite continent, is not yet aſcertained.

It being, however, certain that there are many conſiderable iſlands which lie between the extremities of Aſia and America, viz. Japon, Yeſo or Jedſo, Gama's Land, Behring's Iſle, with many others diſcovered by Tſchirikow, and beſides theſe, from fifty degrees north there appearing to be a cluſter of iſlands that reach as far as Siberia, it is probable from their proximity to America, that it received its firſt inhabitants from them.

This concluſion is the moſt rational I am able to draw, ſuppoſing that ſince the Aborigines got footing on this continent, no extraordinary or ſudden change in the poſition or ſurface of it has taken place, from inundations, earthquakes, or any revolutions of the earth that we are at preſent unacquainted with.

To me it appears highly improbable that it ſhould have been peopled from different quarters, acroſs the Ocean, as others have aſſerted. From the ſize of the ſhips made uſe of in thoſe early ages, and the want of the compaſs, it cannot be ſuppoſed

poſed that any maritime nation would by choice venture over the unfathomable Ocean in ſearch of diſtant continents. Had this however been attempted, or had America been firſt accidentally peopled from ſhips freighted with paſſengers of both ſexes which were driven by ſtrong eaſterly winds acroſs the Atlantic, theſe ſettlers muſt have retained ſome traces of the language of the country from whence they migrated; and this ſince the diſcovery of it by the Europeans muſt have been made out. It alſo appears extraordinary that ſeveral of theſe accidental migrations, as allowed by ſome, and theſe from different parts, ſhould have taken place.

Upon the whole, after the moſt critical enquiries, and the matureſt deliberation, I am of opinion, that America received its firſt inhabitants from the north-eaſt, by way of the great archipelago juſt mentioned, and from theſe alone. But this might have been effected at different times, and from various parts: from Tartary, China, Japon, or Kamſchatka, the inhabitants of theſe places reſembling each other in colour, features, and ſhape;

and who, before ſome of them acquired a knowledge of the arts and ſciences, might have likewiſe reſembled each other in their manners, cuſtoms, religion, and language.

The only difference between the Chineſe nation and the Tartars lies in the cultivated ſtate of the one, and the unpoliſhed ſituation of the others. The former have become a commercial people, and dwell in houſes formed into regular towns and cities; the latter live chiefly in tents, and rove about in different hords, without any fixed abode. Nor can the long and bloody wars theſe two nations have been engaged in, exterminate their hereditary ſimilitude. The preſent family of the Chineſe emperors is of Tartarian extraction; and if they were not ſenſible of ſome claim beſide that of conqueſt, ſo numerous a people would ſcarcely ſit quiet under the dominion of ſtrangers.

It is very evident that ſome of the manners and cuſtoms of the American Indians reſemble thoſe of the Tartars; and I make no doubt but that in ſome future æra, and this not a very diſtant one, it will

will be reduced to a certainty, that during ſome of the wars between the Tartars and the Chineſe, a part of the inhabitants of the northern provinces were driven from their native country, and took refuge in ſome of the iſles before-mentioned, and from thence found their way into America. At different periods each nation might prove victorious, and the conquered by turns fly before their conquerors; and from hence might ariſe the ſimilitude of the Indians to all theſe people, and that animoſity which exiſts between ſo many of their tribes.

It appears plainly to me that a great ſimilarity between the Indian and Chineſe is conſpicuous in that particular cuſtom of ſhaving or plucking off the hair, and leaving only a ſmall tuft on the crown of the head. This mode is ſaid to have been enjoined by the Tartarian emperors on their acceſſion to the throne of China, and conſequently is a further proof that this cuſtom was in uſe among the Tartars; to whom as well as the Chineſe, the Americans might be indebted for it.

Many words alſo are uſed both by the Chineſe and Indians, which have a re-

ſemblance to each other, not only in their ſound, but their ſignification. The Chineſe call a ſlave, ſhungo; and the Naudoweſſie Indians, whoſe language from their little intercourſe with the Europeans is the leaſt corrupted, term a dog, ſhunguſh. The former denominate one ſpecies of their tea, ſhouſong; the latter call their tobacco, ſhouſaſſau. Many other of the words uſed by the Indians contain the ſyllables che, chaw, and chu, after the dialect of the Chineſe.

There probably might be found a ſimilar connection between the language of the Tartars and the American Aborigines, were we as well acquainted with it as we are, from a commercial intercourſe, with that of the Chineſe.

I am confirmed in theſe conjectures, by the accounts of Kamſchatka publiſhed a few years ago by order of the Empreſs of Ruſſia. The author of which ſays, that the ſea which divides that peninſula from America is full of iſlands; and that the diſtance between Tſchukotſkoi-Noſs, a promontory which lies at the eaſtern extremity of that country, and the coaſt of America, is not more than two degrees

and

and a half of a great circle. He further ſays, that there is the greateſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that Aſia and America once joined at this place, as the coaſts of both continents appear to have been broken into capes and bays, which anſwer each other; more eſpecially as the inhabitants of this part of both reſemble each other in their perſons, habits, cuſtoms, and food. Their language, indeed, he obſerves, does not appear to be the ſame, but then the inhabitants of each diſtrict in Kamſchatka ſpeak a language as different from each other, as from that ſpoken on the oppoſite coaſt. Theſe obſervations, to which he adds, the ſimilarity of the boats of the inhabitants of each coaſt, and a remark that the natives of this part of America are wholly ſtrangers to wine and tobacco, which he looks upon as a proof that they have as yet had no communication with the natives of Europe, he ſays, amount to little leſs than a demonſtration that America was peopled from this part of Aſia.

The limits of my preſent undertaking will not permit me to dwell any longer on this ſubject, or to enumerate any other proofs in favour of my hypotheſis. I am

however ſo thoroughly convinced of the certainty of it, and ſo deſirous have I been to obtain every teſtimony which can be procured in its ſupport, that I once made an offer to a private ſociety of gentlemen, who were curious in ſuch reſearches, and to whom I had communicated my ſentiments on this point, that I would undertake a journey, on receiving ſuch ſupplies as were needful, through the north-eaſt parts of Europe and Aſia to the interior parts of America, and from thence to England; making, as I proceeded, ſuch obſervations both on the languages and manners of the people with whom I ſhould be converſant, as might tend to illuſtrate the doctrine I have here laid down, and to ſatisfy the curioſity of the learned or inquiſitive; but as this propoſal was judged rather to require a national than a private ſupport, it was not carried into execution.

I am happy to find, ſince I formed the foregoing concluſions, that they correſpond with the ſentiments of that great and learned hiſtorian Doctor Robertſon; and though, with him, I acknowledge that the inveſtigation, from its nature, is

ſo

ſo obſcure and intricate that the conjectures I have made can only be conſidered as conjectures, and not indiſputable concluſions, yet they carry with them a greater degree of probability than the ſuppoſitions of thoſe who aſſert that this continent was peopled from another quarter.

One of the Doctor's quotations from the Journals of Behring and Tſchirikow, who ſailed from Kamſchatka about the year 1741 in queſt of the New World, appears to carry great weight with it, and to afford our concluſions firm ſupport: "Theſe commanders having ſhaped their courſe towards the eaſt, diſcovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent; and according to their obſervations, it ſeems to be ſituated within a few degrees of the north-weſt coaſt of California. They had there ſome intercourſe with the inhabitants, who ſeemed to them to reſemble the North Americans; as they preſented to the Ruſſians the Calumet or Pipe of Peace, which is a ſymbol of friendſhip univerſal among the people of North America,

" America, and an uſage of arbitrary in-
" ſtitution peculiar to them."

One of this incomparable writer's own arguments in ſupport of his hypotheſis is alſo urged with great judgment, and appears to be nearly concluſive. He ſays, " We may lay it down as a certain prin-
" ciple in this enquiry, that America
" was not peopled by any nation of the
" ancient continent, which had made con-
" ſiderable progreſs in civilization. The
" inhabitants of the New World were in
" a ſtate of ſociety ſo extremely rude, as
" to be unacquainted with thoſe arts
" which are the firſt eſſays of human in-
" genuity in its advance towards improve-
" ment. Even the moſt cultivated na-
" tions of America were ſtrangers to many
" of thoſe ſimple inventions, which were
" almoſt coeval with ſociety in other
" parts of the world, and were known
" in the earlieſt periods of civil life.
" From this it is manifeſt that the tribes
" which originally migrated to America,
" came off from nations which muſt
" have been no leſs barbarous than their
" poſterity, at the time when they were

" firſt

" firſt diſcovered by the Europeans. If " ever the uſe of iron had been known " to the ſavages of America, or to their " progenitors, if ever they had employed " a plough, a loom, or a forge, the uti- " lity of theſe inventions would have " preſerved them, and it is impoſſible " that they ſhould have been abandoned " or forgotten."

CHAPTER II.

Of their PERSONS, DRESS, *&c.*

FROM the firſt ſettlement of the French in Canada, to the conqueſt of it by the Engliſh in 1760, ſeveral of that nation, who had travelled into the interior parts of North America, either to trade with the Indians, or to endeavour to make converts of them, have publiſhed accounts of their cuſtoms, manners, &c.

The principal of theſe are Father Louis Hennipin, Monſ. Charlevoix, and the Baron Le Hontan. The firſt, many years ago, publiſhed ſome very judicious remarks,

marks, which he was the better enabled to do by the affiſtance he received from the maps and diaries of the unfortunate Monſ. De la Salle, who was aſſaſſinated whilſt he was on his travels, by ſome of his own party. That gentleman's journals falling into Father Hennipin's hands, he was enabled by them to publiſh many intereſting particulars relative to the Indians. But in ſome reſpects he fell very ſhort of that knowledge which it was in his power to have attained from his long reſidence among them. Nor was he always (as has been already obſerved) exact in his calculations, or juſt in the intelligence he has given us.

The accounts publiſhed by the other two, particularly thoſe of Charlevoix, are very erroneous in the geographical parts, and many of the ſtories told by the Baron are mere deluſions.

Some of the Jeſuits, who heretofore travelled into theſe parts, have alſo written on this ſubject; but as few, if any, of their works have been tranſlated into the Engliſh language, the generality of Readers are not benefitted by them; and, indeed,

indeed, had this been done, they would have reaped but few advantages from them, as they have chiefly confined their obſervations to the religious principles of the ſavages, and the ſteps taken for their converſion.

Since the conqueſt of Canada, ſome of our own countrymen, who have lived among the Indians, and learned their language, have publiſhed their obſervations; however as their travels have not extended to any of the interior parts I treat of, but have only been made among the nations that border on our ſettlements, a knowledge of the genuine and uncontaminated cuſtoms and manners of the Indians could not have been acquired by them.

The ſouthern tribes, and thoſe that have held a conſtant intercourſe with the French or Engliſh, cannot have preſerved their manners or their cuſtoms in their original purity. They could not avoid acquiring the vices with the language of thoſe they converſed with; and the frequent intoxications they experienced through the baneful juices introduced among them by the Europeans, have completed a total alteration in their characters.

In

In ſuch as theſe, a confuſed medley of principles or uſages are only to be obſerved; their real and unpolluted cuſtoms could be ſeen among thoſe nations alone that have held but little communications with the provinces. Theſe I found in the north-weſt parts, and therefore flatter myſelf that I am able to give a more juſt account of the cuſtoms and manners of the Indians, in their ancient purity, than any that has been hitherto publiſhed. I have made obſervations on thirty nations, and though moſt of theſe have differed in their languages, there has appeared a great ſimilarity in their manners, and from theſe have I endeavoured to extract the following remarks.

As I do not propoſe to give a regular and connected ſyſtem of Indian concerns, but only to relate ſuch particulars of their manners, cuſtoms, &c. as I thought moſt worthy of notice, and which intefere as little as poſſible with the accounts given by other writers, I muſt beg my Readers to excuſe their not being arranged ſyſtematically, or treated of in a more copious manner.

The

The Indian nations do not appear to me to differ ſo widely in their make, colour, or conſtitution from each other, as repreſented by ſome writers. They are in general ſlight made, rather tall and ſtrait, and you ſeldom ſee any among them deformed; their ſkin is of a reddiſh or copper colour; their eyes are large and black, and their hair of the ſame hue, but very rarely is it curled; they have good teeth, and their breath is as ſweet as the air they draw in; their cheek-bones rather raiſed, but more ſo in the women than the men; the former are not quite ſo tall as the European women, however you frequently meet with good faces and agreeable perſons among them, although they are more inclined to be fat than the other ſex.

I ſhall not enter into a particular enquiry whether the Indians are indebted to nature, art, or the temperature of the climate for the colour of their ſkin, nor ſhall I quote any of the contradictory accounts I have read on this ſubject; I ſhall only ſay, that it appears to me to be the tincture they received originally from the hands of their Creator; but at what

period

period the variation which is at preſent viſible both in the complexion and features of many nations took place, at what time the European whiteneſs, the jetty hue of the African, or the copper caſt of the American were given them; which was the original colour of the firſt inhabitants of the earth, or which might be eſteemed the moſt perfect, I will not pretend to determine.

Many writers have aſſerted, that the Indians, even at the matureſt period of their exiſtence, are only furniſhed with hair on their heads; and that notwithſtanding the profuſion with which that part is covered, thoſe parts which among the inhabitants of other climates are uſually the ſeat of this excreſcence, remain entirely free from it. Even Doctor Robertſon, through their miſrepreſentations, has contributed to propagate the error; and ſuppoſing the remark juſtly founded, has drawn ſeveral concluſions from it relative to the habit and temperature of their bodies, which are conſequently invalid. But from minute enquiries, and a curious inſpection, I am able to declare (however reſpectable I may hold the authority of

theſe hiſtorians in other points) that their aſſertions are erroneous, and proceeding from the want of a thorough knowledge of the cuſtoms of the Indians.

After the age of puberty, their bodies, in their natural ſtate, are covered in the ſame manner as thoſe of the Europeans. The men, indeed, eſteem a beard very unbecoming, and take great pains to get rid of it, nor is there any ever to be perceived on their faces, except when they grow old, and become inattentive to their appearance. Every crinous efflorescence on the other parts of the body is held unſeemly by them, and both ſexes employ much time in their extirpation.

The Naudoweſſies, and the remote nations, pluck them out with bent pieces of hard wood, formed into a kind of nippers; whilſt thoſe who have communication with Europeans procure from them wire, which they twiſt into a ſcrew or worm; applying this to the part, they preſs the rings together, and with a ſudden twitch draw out all the hairs that are incloſed between them.

The men of every nation differ in their dreſs very little from each other, except

thoſe who trade with the Europeans; theſe exchange their furs for blankets, ſhirts, and other apparel, which they wear as much for ornament as neceſſity. The latter faſten by a girdle around their waiſts about half a yard of broadcloth, which covers the middle parts of their bodies. Thoſe who wear ſhirts never make them faſt either at the wriſt or collar; this would be a moſt inſufferable confinement to them. They throw their blanket looſe upon their ſhoulders, and holding the upper ſide of it by the two corners, with a knife in one hand, and a tobacco-pouch, pipe, &c. in the other, thus accoutred they walk about in their villages or camps: but in their dances they ſeldom wear this covering.

Thoſe among the men who wiſh to appear gayer than the reſt, pluck from their heads all the hair except from a ſpot on the top of it, about the ſize of a crown-piece, where it is permitted to grow to a conſiderable length: on this are faſtened plumes of feathers of various colours with ſilver or ivory quills. The manner of cutting and ornamenting this part of the head diſtinguiſhes different nations from each other.

They

They paint their faces red and black, which they eſteem as greatly ornamental. They alſo paint themſelves when they go to war: but the method they make uſe of on this occaſion differs from that wherein they uſe it merely as a decoration.

The young Indians, who are deſirous of excelling their companions in finery, ſlit the outward rim of both their ears; at the ſame time they take care not to ſeparate them entirely, but leave the fleſh thus cut ſtill untouched at both extremities: around this ſpongy ſubſtance, from the upper to the lower part, they twiſt braſs wire, till the weight draws the amputated rim into a bow of five or ſix inches diameter, and drags it almoſt down to the ſhoulder. This decoration is eſteemed to be exceſſively gay and becoming.

It is alſo a common cuſtom among them to bore their noſes, and wear in them pendants of different ſorts. I obſerved that ſea ſhells were much worn by thoſe of the interior parts, and reckoned very ornamental; but how they procured them I could not learn: probably by their traffick with other nations nearer the ſea.

They go without any covering for the thigh, except that before ſpoken of, round the middle, which reaches down half way the thighs; but they make for their legs a ſort of ſtocking either of ſkins or cloth: theſe are ſewed as near to the ſhape of the leg as poſſible, ſo as to admit of being drawn on and off. The edges of the ſtuff of which they are compoſed are left annexed to the ſeam, and hang looſe for about the breadth of a hand: and this part, which is placed on the outſide of the leg, is generally ornamented by thoſe who have any communication with Europeans, if of cloth, with ribands or lace, if of leather, with embroidery and porcupine quills curiouſly coloured. Strangers who hunt among the Indians in the parts where there is a great deal of ſnow, find theſe ſtockings much more convenient than any others.

Their ſhoes are made of the ſkin of the deer, elk, or buffalo: theſe, after being ſometimes dreſſed according to the European manner, at others with the hair remaining on them, are cut into ſhoes, and faſhioned ſo as to be eaſy to the feet, and convenient for walking. The edges round

Male Slave and Woman of the Mozambique.

round the ancle are decorated with pieces of braſs or tin fixed around leather ſtrings, about an inch long, which being placed very thick make a cheerful tinkling noiſe either when they walk or dance.

The women wear a covering of ſome kind or other from the neck to the knees. Thoſe who trade with the Europeans wear a linen garment the ſame as that uſed by the men; the flaps of which hang over the petticoat. Such as dreſs after their ancient manner, make a kind of ſhift with leather, which covers the body but not the arms. Their petticoats are made either of leather or cloth, and reach from the waiſt to the knee. On their legs they wear ſtockings and ſhoes, made and ornamented as thoſe of the men.

They differ from each other in the mode of dreſſing their heads, each following the cuſtom of the nation or band to which they belong, and adhering to the form made uſe of by their anceſtors from time immemorial.

I remarked that moſt of the females, who dwell on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, decorate their heads by incloſing their

hair either in ribands, or in plates of ſilver: the latter is only made uſe of by the higher ranks, as it is a coſtly ornament. The ſilver they uſe on this occaſion is formed into thin plates of about four inches broad, in ſeveral of which they confine their hair. That plate which is neareſt the head is of a conſiderable width; the next narrower, and made ſo as to paſs a little way under the other, and in this manner they faſten into each other, and, gradually tapering, deſcend to the waiſt, as repreſented in plate N° II. The hair of the Indian women being in general very long, this proves an expenſive method.

But the women that live to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, viz. the Naudoweſſies, the Aſſinipoils, &c. divide their hair in the middle of the head, and form it into two rolls, one againſt each ear. Theſe rolls are about three inches long, and as large as their wriſts. They hang in a perpendicular attitude at the front of each ear, and deſcend as far as the lower part of it. A more explicit idea may be formed of this mode by referring to plate III.

The women of every nation generally place a ſpot of paint, about the ſize of a crown-

A Man & Woman of the Naudowessie.

crown-piece, againſt each ear; ſome of them put paint on their hair, and ſometimes a ſmall ſpot in the middle of the forehead.

The Indians, in general, pay a greater attention to their dreſs and to the ornaments with which they decorate their perſons, than to the accommodation of their huts or tents. They conſtruct the latter in the following ſimple and expeditious manner.

Being provided with poles of a proper length, they faſten two of them acroſs, near their ends, with bands made of bark. Having done this, they raiſe them up, and extend the bottom of each as wide as they purpoſe to make the area of the tent: they then erect others of an equal height, and fix them ſo as to ſupport the two principal ones. On the whole they lay ſkins of the elk or deer, ſewed together, in quantity ſufficient to cover the poles, and by lapping over to form the door. A great number of ſkins are ſometimes required for this purpoſe, as ſome of their tents are very capacious. That of the chief warrior of the Naudoweſſies was at leaſt forty feet in circumference, and very commodious.

They obſerve no regularity in fixing their tents when they encamp, but place them juſt as it ſuits their conveniency.

The huts alſo, which thoſe who uſe not tents, erect when they travel, for very few tribes have fixed abodes or regular towns or villages, are equally ſimple, and almoſt as ſoon conſtructed.

They fix ſmall pliable poles in the ground, and bending them till they meet at the top and form a ſemi-circle, then laſh them together. Theſe they cover with mats made of ruſhes platted, or with birch bark, which they carry with them in their canoes for this purpoſe.

Theſe cabins have neither chimnies nor windows; there is only a ſmall aperture left in the middle of the roofs through which the ſmoke is diſcharged, but as this is obliged to be ſtopped up when it rains or ſnows violently, the ſmoke then proves exceedingly troubleſome.

They lie on ſkins, generally thoſe of the bear, which are placed in rows on the ground; and if the floor is not large enough to contain beds ſufficient for the accommodation of the whole family, a frame is erected about four or five feet from

from the ground, in which the younger part of it ſleep.

As the habitations of the Indians are thus rude, their domeſtic utenſils are few in number, and plain in their formation. The tools wherewith they faſhion them are ſo aukward and defective, that it is not only impoſſible to form them with any degree of neatneſs or elegance, but the time required in the execution is ſo conſiderable, as to deter them from engaging in the manufacture of ſuch as are not abſolutely neceſſary.

The Naudoweſſies make the pots in which they boil their victuals of the black clay or ſtone mentioned in my Journal; which reſiſts the effects of the fire nearly as well as iron. When they roaſt, if it is a large joint or a whole animal, ſuch as a beaver, they fix it as Europeans do, on a ſpit made of a hard wood, and placing the ends on two forked props, now and then turn it. If the piece is ſmaller they ſpit it as before, and fixing the ſpit in an erect but ſlanting poſition, with the meat inclining towards the fire, frequently change the ſides, till every part is ſufficiently roaſted.

They

They make their diſhes in which they ſerve up their meat, and their bowls and pans, out of the knotty excreſcences of the maple tree, or any other wood. They faſhion their ſpoons with a tolerable degree of neatneſs (as theſe require much leſs trouble than larger utenſils) from a wood that is termed in America Spoon Wood, and which greatly reſembles box wood.

Every tribe are now poſſeſſed of knives, and ſteels to ſtrike fire with. Theſe being ſo eſſentially needful for the common uſes of life, thoſe who have not an immediate communication with the European traders, purchaſe them of ſuch of their neighbours as are ſituated nearer the ſettlements, and generally give in exchange for them ſlaves.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

Of their MANNERS, QUALIFICATIONS, *&c.*

WHEN the Indian women ſit down, they place themſelves in a decent attitude, with their knees cloſe together; but from being accuſtomed to this poſture, they walk badly, and appear to be lame.

They have no midwives amongſt them, their climate, or ſome peculiar happineſs in their conſtitutions, rendering any aſſiſtſtance at that time unneceſſary. On theſe occaſions they are confined but a few hours from their uſual employments, which are commonly very laborious, as the men, who are remarkably indolent, leave to them every kind of drugery; even in their hunting parties the former will not deign to bring home the game, but ſend their wives for it, though it lies at a very conſiderable diſtance.

The women place their children ſoon after they are born on boards ſtuffed with

ſoft

ſoft moſs, ſuch as is found in moraſſes or meadows. The child is laid on its back in one of theſe kind of cradles, and, being wrapped in ſkins or cloth to keep it warm, is ſecured in it by ſmall bent pieces of timber.

To theſe machines they faſten ſtrings, by which they hang them to branches of trees; or if they find not trees at hand, faſten them to a ſtump or ſtone, whilſt they tranſact any needful buſineſs. In this poſition are the children kept for ſome months. When they are taken out, the boys are ſuffered to go naked, and the girls are covered from the neck to the knees with a ſhift and a ſhort petticoat.

The Indian women are remarkably decent during their menſtrual illneſs. Thoſe nations that are moſt remote from the European ſettlements, as the Naudoweſſies, &c. are more particularly attentive to this point; though they all without exception adhere in ſome degree to the ſame cuſtom.

In every camp or town there is an apartment appropriated for their retirement at this time, to which both ſingle and

and married retreat, and ſeclude themſelves with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs during this period from all ſociety. Afterwards they purify themſelves in running ſtreams, and return to their different employments.

The men on theſe occaſions moſt carefully avoid holding any communication with them; and the Naudoweſſies are ſo rigid in this obſervance, that they will not ſuffer any belonging to them to fetch ſuch things as are neceſſary, even fire, from theſe female lunar retreats, though the want of them is attended with the greateſt inconvenience. They are alſo ſo ſuperſtitious as to think, if a pipe ſtem cracks, which among them is made of wood, that the poſſeſſor has either lighted it at one of theſe polluted fires, or held ſome converſe with a woman during her retirement, which is eſteemed by them moſt diſgraceful and wicked.

The Indians are extremely circumſpect and deliberate in every word and action; there is nothing that hurries them into any intemperate warmth, but that inveteracy to their enemies which is rooted in every Indian heart, and never can be eradicated.

eradicated. In all other inſtances they are cool, and remarkably cautious, taking care not to betray on any account whatever their emotions. If an Indian has diſcovered that a friend is in danger of being intercepted and cut off by one to whom he has rendered himſelf obnoxious, he does not inform him in plain and explicit terms of the danger he runs by purſuing the track near which his enemy lies in wait for him, but he firſt coolly aſks him which way he is going that day; and having received his anſwer, with the ſame indifference tells him that he has been informed that a dog lies near the ſpot, which might probably do him a miſchief. This hint proves ſufficient; and his friend avoids the danger with as much caution as if every deſign and motion of his enemy had been pointed out to him.

This apathy often ſhews itſelf on occaſions that would call forth all the fervour of a ſuſceptible heart. If an Indian has been abſent from his family and friends many months, either on a war or hunting party, when his wife and children meet him at ſome diſtance from his habitation,

habitation, instead of the affectionate sensations that would naturally arise in the breast of more refined beings, and be productive of mutual congratulations, he continues his course without paying the least attention to those who surround him, till he arrives at his home.

He there sits down, and with the same unconcern as if he had not been absent a day, smokes his pipe; those of his acquaintance who have followed him, do the same; and perhaps it is several hours before he relates to them the incidents which have befallen him during his absence, though perhaps he has left a father, brother, or son on the field whose loss he ought to have lamented, or has been unsuccessful in the undertaking that called him from his home.

Has an Indian been engaged for several days in the chace, or on any other laborious expedition, and by accident continued thus long without food, when he arrives at the hut or tent of a friend where he knows his wants may be immediately supplied, he takes care not to show the least symptoms of impatience, or to betray the extreme hunger by which he

he is tortured; but on being invited in, ſits contentedly down, and ſmokes his pipe with as much compoſure as if every appetite was allayed, and he was perfectly at eaſe; he does the ſame if among ſtrangers. This cuſtom is ſtrictly adhered to by every tribe, as they eſteem it a proof of fortitude, and think the reverſe would intitle them to the appellation of old women.

If you tell an Indian that his children have greatly ſignalized themſelves againſt an enemy, have taken many ſcalps, and brought home many priſoners, he does not appear to feel any extraordinary pleaſure on the occaſion; his anſwer generally is, "It is well," and he makes very little further enquiry about it. On the contrary, if you inform him that his children are ſlain or taken priſoners, he makes no complaints, he only replies, "It does not ſignify;" and probably, for ſome time at leaſt, aſks not how it happened.

This ſeeming indifference, however, does not proceed from an entire ſuppreſſion of the natural affections; for notwithſtanding they are eſteemed ſavages, I never

neve ſaw among any other people greater proofs of parental or filial tenderneſs; and although they meet their wives after a long abſence with the Stoical indifference juſt mentioned, they are not in general void of conjugal affection.

Another peculiarity is obſervable in their manner of paying their viſits. If an Indian goes to viſit a particular perſon in a family, he mentions to whom his viſit is intended, and the reſt of the family immediately retiring to the other end of the hut or tent are careful not to come near enough to interrupt them during the whole of the converſation. The ſame method is purſued if a man goes to pay his reſpects to one of the other ſex; but then he muſt be careful not to let love be the ſubject of his diſcourſe whilſt the daylight remains.

The Indians diſcover an amazing ſagacity, and acquire with the greateſt readineſs any thing that depends upon the attention of the mind. By experience and an acute obſervation, they attain many perfections to which Europeans are ſtrangers. For inſtance, they will croſs a foreſt or a plain which is two hundred

miles in breadth, and reach with great exactneſs the point at which they intend to arrive, keeping during the whole of that ſpace in a direct line, without any material deviations; and this they will do with the ſame eaſe, whether the weather be fair or cloudy.

With equal acuteneſs will they point to that part of the heavens the ſun is in, though it be intercepted by clouds or fogs. Beſides this, they are able to purſue with incredible facility the traces of man or beaſt, either on leaves or graſs; and on this account it is with great difficulty a flying enemy eſcapes diſcovery.

They are indebted for theſe talents not only to nature, but to an extraordinary command of the intellectual faculties, which can only be acquired by an unremitted attention, and by long experience.

They are in general very happy in a retentive memory; they can recapitulate every particular that has been treated of in council, and remember the exact time when theſe were held. Their belts of wampum preſerve the ſubſtance of the treaties they have concluded with the neighbouring

ing tribes for ages back, to which they will appeal, and refer with as much perſpicuity and readineſs as Europeans can to their written records.

Every nation pays great reſpect to old age. The advice of a father will ſeldom meet with any extraordinary attention from the young Indians, probably they receive it with only a bare aſſent; but they will tremble before a grandfather, and ſubmit to his injunctions with the utmoſt alacrity. The words of the ancient part of their community are eſteemed by the young as oracles. If they take during their hunting parties any game that is reckoned by them uncommonly delicious, it is immediately preſented to the oldeſt of their relations.

They never ſuffer themſelves to be overburdened with care, but live in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity and contentment. Being naturally indolent, if proviſion juſt ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence can be procured with little trouble, and near at hand, they will not go far, or take any extraordinary pains for it, though by ſo doing they might acquire

greater plenty and of a more eſtimable kind.

Having much leiſure time they indulge this indolence to which they are ſo prone, by eating, drinking, or ſleeping, and rambling about in their towns or camps. But when neceſſity obliges them to take the field, either to oppoſe an enemy, or to procure themſelves food, they are alert and indefatigable. Many inſtances of their activity on theſe occaſions will be given when I treat of their wars.

The infatuating ſpirit of gaming is not confined to Europe; the Indians alſo feel the bewitching impulſe, and often loſe their arms, their apparel, and every thing they are poſſeſſed of. In this caſe, however, they do not follow the example of more refined gameſters, for they neither murmur nor repine; not a fretful word eſcapes them, but they bear the frowns of fortune with a philoſophic compoſure.

The greateſt blemiſh in their character is that ſavage diſpoſition which impels them to treat their enemies with a ſeverity every other nation ſhudders at. But

if

if they are thus barbarous to thoſe with whom they are at war, they are friendly, hoſpitable, and humane in peace. It may with truth be ſaid of them, that they are the worſt enemies, and the beſt friends, of any people in the whole world.

The Indians in general are ſtrangers to the paſſion of jealouſy; and brand a man with folly that is diſtruſtful of his wife. Among ſome bands the very idea is not known; as the moſt abandoned of their young men very rarely attempt the virtue of married women, nor do theſe often put themſelves in the way of ſolicitation. Yet the Indian women in general are of an amorous temperature, and before they are married are not the leſs eſteemed for the indulgence of their paſſions.

Whilſt I was among the Naudoweſſies I obſerved that they paid uncommon reſpect to one of their women, and found on enquiry that ſhe was intitled to it on account of a tranſaction, that in Europe would have rendered her infamous.

They told me that when ſhe was a young woman, for at the time I ſaw her ſhe was far advanced in life, ſhe had given what they termed a rice feaſt. Accord-

ing to an ancient but almoſt obſolete cuſtom (which, as Hamlet ſays, would have been more honoured in the breach, than the obſervance) ſhe invited forty of the principal warriors to her tent, where having feaſted them with rice and veniſon, ſhe by turns regaled each of them with a private deſert, behind a ſcreen fixed for this purpoſe in the inner part of the tent.

She had the happineſs to obtain by this profuſion of courteſy, the favour of her gueſts, and the approbation of the whole band. So ſenſible were the young Indians of her extraordinary merit, that they vied with each other for her hand, and in a very ſhort time one of the principal chiefs took her to wife, over whom ſhe acquired great ſway, and from whom ſhe received ever after inceſſant tokens of reſpect and love.

It is however ſcarcely once in an age that any of the females are hardy enough to make this feaſt, notwithſtanding a huſband of the firſt rank awaits as a ſure reward the ſucceſsful giver of it; and the cuſtom, I ſince find, is peculiar to the Naudoweſſies.

The

The Indians in their common ſtate are ſtrangers to all diſtinction of property, except in the articles of domeſtic uſe, which every one conſiders as his own, and increaſes as circumſtances admit. They are extremely liberal to each other, and ſupply the deficiency of their friends with any ſuperfluity of their own.

In dangers they readily give aſſiſtance to thoſe of their band who ſtand in need of it, without any expectation of return, except of thoſe juſt rewards that are always conferred by the Indians on merit. Governed by the plain and equitable laws of nature, every one is rewarded ſolely according to his deſerts; and their equality of condition, manners, and privileges, with that conſtant and ſociable familiarity which prevails throughout every Indian nation, animates them with a pure and truly patriotic ſpirit, that tends to the general good of the ſociety to which they belong.

If any of their neighbours are bereaved by death or by an enemy of their children, thoſe who are poſſeſſed of the greateſt number of ſlaves, ſupply the deficiency; and theſe are adopted by them and treated in every reſpect as if they really were the

children of the perſon to whom they are preſented.

The Indians, except thoſe who live adjoining to the European colonies, can form to themſelves no idea of the value of money; they conſider it, when they are made acquainted with the uſes to which it is applied by other nations, as the ſource of innumerable evils. To it they attribute all the miſchiefs that are prevalent among Europeans, ſuch as treachery, plundering, devaſtations, and murder.

They eſteem it irrational that one man ſhould be poſſeſſed of a greater quantity than another, and are amazed that any honour ſhould be annexed to the poſſeſſion of it. But that the want of this uſeleſs metal ſhould be the cauſe of depriving perſons of their liberty, and that on account of this partial diſtribution of it, great numbers ſhould be immured within the dreary walls of a priſon, cut off from that ſociety of which they conſtitute a part, exceeds their belief. Nor do they fail, on hearing this part of the European ſyſtem of government related, to charge the inſtitutors of it with a total

want

want of humanity, and to brand them with the names of ſavages and brutes.

They ſhew almoſt an equal degree of indifference for the productions of art. When any of theſe are ſhewn them, they ſay, "It is pretty, I like to look at it," but are not inquiſitive about the conſtruction of it, neither can they form proper conceptions of its uſe. But if you tell them of a perſon who is able to run with great agility, that is well ſkilled in hunting, can direct with unerring aim a gun, or bend with eaſe a bow, that can dexterouſly work a canoe, underſtands the art of war, is acquainted with the ſituation of a country, and can make his way without a guide, through an immenſe foreſt, ſubſiſting during this on a ſmall quantity of proviſions, they are in raptures; they liſten with great attention to the pleaſing tale, and beſtow the higheſt commendations on the hero of it.

CHAPTER IV.

Their Method of reckoning TIME, *&c.*

CONSIDERING their ignorance of aſtronomy, time is very rationally divided by the Indians. Thoſe in the interior parts (and of thoſe I would generally be underſtood to ſpeak) count their years by winters; or, as they expreſs themſelves, by ſnows.

Some nations among them reckon their years by moons, and make them conſiſt of twelve ſynodical or lunar months, obſerving, when thirty moons have waned, to add a ſupernumerary one, which they term the loſt moon; and then begin to count as before. They pay a great regard to the firſt appearance of every moon, and on the occaſion always repeat ſome joyful ſounds, ſtretching at the ſame time their hands towards it.

Every month has with them a name expreſſive of its ſeaſon; for inſtance, they

call

call the month of March (in which their year generally begins at the firſt New Moon after the vernal Equinox) the Worm Month or Moon; becauſe at this time the worms quit their retreats in the bark of the trees, wood, &c. where they have ſheltered themſelves during the winter.

The month of April is termed by them the month of Plants. May, the Month of Flowers. June, the Hot Moon. July, the Buck Moon. Their reaſon for thus denominating theſe is obvious.

Auguſt, the Sturgeon Moon; becauſe in this month they catch great numbers of that fiſh.

September, the Corn Moon; becauſe in that month they gather in their Indian corn.

October, the Travelling Moon; as they leave at this time their villages, and travel towards the places where they intend to hunt during the winter.

November, the Beaver Moon; for in this month the beavers begin to take ſhelter in their houſes, having laid up a ſufficient

ſufficient ſtore of proviſions for the winter ſeaſon.

December, the Hunting Moon, becauſe they employ this month in purſuit of their game.

January, the Cold Moon, as it generally freezes harder, and the cold is more intenſe in this than in any other month.

February they call the Snow Moon, becauſe more ſnow commonly falls during this month, than any other in the winter.

When the moon does not ſhine they ſay the moon is dead; and ſome call the three laſt days of it the naked days. The moon's firſt appearance they term its coming to life again.

They make no diviſion of weeks; but days they count by ſleeps; half days by pointing to the ſun at noon; and quarters by the riſing and the ſetting of the ſun: to expreſs which in their traditions they make uſe of very ſignificant hieroglyphicks.

The Indians are totally unſkilled in geography as well as all the other ſciences, and

and yet, as I have before hinted, they draw on their birch bark very exact charts or maps of the countries with which they are acquainted. The latitude and longitude is only wanting to make them tolerably complete.

Their sole knowledge in astronomy consists in being able to point out the pole-star; by which they regulate their course when they travel in the night.

They reckon the distance of places, not by miles or leagues, but by a day's journey, which, according to the best calculations I could make, appears to be about twenty English miles. These they also divide into halves and quarters, and will demonstrate them in their maps with great exactness, by the hieroglyphicks just mentioned, when they regulate in council their war parties, or their most distant hunting excursions.

They have no idea of arithmetic; and though they are able to count to any number, figures as well as letters appear mysterious to them, and above their comprehension.

During my abode with the Naudowessies, some of the chiefs observing one day a draft

a draft of an eclipſe of the moon, in a book of aſtronomy which I held in my hand, they deſired I would permit them to look at it. Happening to give them the book ſhut, they began to count the leaves till they came to the place in which the plate was. After they had viewed it, and aſked many queſtions relative to it, I told them they needed not to have taken ſo much pains to find the leaf on which it was drawn, for I could not only tell in an inſtant the place, without counting the leaves, but alſo how many preceded it.

They ſeemed greatly amazed at my aſſertion, and begged that I would demonſtrate to them the poſſibility of doing it. To this purpoſe I deſired the chief that held the book, to open it at any particular place, and juſt ſhewing me the page carefully to conceal the edges of the leaves, ſo that I might not be able to count them.

This he did with the greateſt caution; notwithſtanding which, by looking at the folio, I told him, to his great ſurprize, the number of leaves. He counted them regularly over, and diſcovered that I was exact.

exact. And when, after repeated trials, the Indians found I could do it with great readineſs, and without ever erring in my calculation, they all ſeemed as much aſtoniſhed as if I had raiſed the dead. The only way they could account for my knowledge, was by concluding that the book was a ſpirit, and whiſpered me anſwers to whatever I demanded of it.

This circumſtance, trifling as it might appear to thoſe who are leſs illiterate, contributed to increaſe my conſequence, and to augment the favourable opinion they already entertained of me.

CHAPTER V.

Of their GOVERNMENT, *&c.*

EVERY ſeparate body of Indians is divided into bands or tribes; which band or tribe forms a little community with the nation to which it belongs. As the nation has ſome particular ſymbol by which it is diſtinguiſhed from others, ſo each

each tribe has a badge from which it is denominated: as that of the Eagle, the Panther, the Tiger, the Buffalo, &c. &c. One band of the Naudoweſſie is repreſented by a Snake, another a Tortoiſe, a third a Squirrel, a fourth a Wolf, and a fifth a Buffalo. Throughout every nation they particularize themſelves in the ſame manner, and the meaneſt perſon among them will remember his lineal deſcent, and diſtinguiſh himſelf by his reſpective family.

Did not many circumſtances tend to confute the ſuppoſition, I ſhould be almoſt induced to conclude from this diſtinction of tribes, and the particular attachment of the Indians to them, that they derive their origin, as ſome have aſſerted, from the Iſraelites.

Beſides this, every nation diſtinguiſh themſelves by the manner of conſtructing their tents or huts. And ſo well verſed are all the Indians in this diſtinction, that though there appears to be no difference on the niceſt obſervation made by an European, yet they will immediately diſcover, from the poſition of a pole left in the ground, what nation has encamped

encamped on the ſpot many months before.

Every band has a chief who is termed the Great Chief or the chief Warrior; and who is choſen in conſideration of his experience in war, and of his approved valour, to direct their military operations, and to regulate all concerns belonging to that department. But this chief is not conſidered as the head of the ſtate; beſides the great warrior who is elected for his warlike qualifications, there is another who enjoys a pre-eminence as his hereditary right, and has the more immediate management of their civil affairs. This chief might with greater propriety be denominated the Sachem; whoſe aſſent is neceſſary in all conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of the tribe or nation.

Though theſe two are conſidered as the heads of the band, and the latter is uſually denominated their king, yet the Indians are ſenſible of neither civil or military ſubordination. As every one of them entertains a high opinion of his conſequence, and is extremely tenacious of his liberty, all injunctions that carry

with them the appearance of a poſitive command, are inſtantly rejected with ſcorn.

On this account, it is ſeldom that their leaders are ſo indiſcreet as to give out any of their orders in a peremptory ſtile; a bare hint from a chief that he thinks ſuch a thing neceſſary to be done, inſtantly arouſes an emulation among the inferior ranks, and it is immediately executed with great alacrity. By this method the diſguſtful part of the command is evaded, and an authority that falls little ſhort of abſolute ſway inſtituted in its room.

Among the Indians no viſible form of government is eſtabliſhed; they allow of no ſuch diſtinction as magiſtrate and ſubject, every one appearing to enjoy an independence that cannot be controlled. The object of government among them is rather foreign than domeſtic, for their attention ſeems more to be employed in preſerving ſuch an union among the members of their tribe as will enable them to watch the motions of their enemies, and to act againſt them with concert and vigour, than to maintain interior order by any public regulations. If a ſcheme that

appears

appears to be of ſervice to the community is propoſed by the chief, every one is at liberty to chuſe whether he will aſſiſt in carrying it on; for they have no compulſory laws that lay them under any reſtrictions. If violence is committed, or blood is ſhed, the right of revenging theſe miſdemeanours are left to the family of the injured; the chiefs aſſume neither the power of inflicting or moderating the puniſhment.

Some nations, where the dignity is hereditary, limit the ſucceſſion to the female line. On the death of a chief, his ſiſter's ſon ſometimes ſucceeds him in preference to his own ſon; and if he happens to have no ſiſter, the neareſt female relation aſſumes the dignity. This accounts for a woman being at the head of the Winnebagoe nation, which, before I was acquainted with their laws, appeared ſtrange to me.

Each family has a right to appoint one of its chiefs to be an aſſiſtant to the principal chief, who watches over the intereſt of his family, and without whoſe conſent nothing of a public nature can be carried into execution. Theſe are generally choſen

for their ability in ſpeaking; and ſuch only are permitted to make orations in their councils and general aſſemblies.

In this body, with the hereditary chief at its head, the ſupreme authority appears to be lodged; as by its determination every tranſaction relative to their hunting, to their making war or peace, and to all their public concerns are regulated. Next to theſe, the body of warriors, which comprehends all that are able to bear arms, hold their rank. This diviſion has ſometimes at its head the chief of the nation, if he has ſignalized himſelf by any renowned action, if not, ſome chief that has rendered himſelf famous.

In their councils which are held by the foregoing members, every affair of conſequence is debated; and no enterprize of the leaſt moment undertaken, unleſs it there meets with the general approbation of the chiefs. They commonly aſſemble in a hut or tent appropriated to this purpoſe, and being ſeated in a circle on the ground, the eldeſt chief riſes and makes a ſpeech; when he has concluded, another gets up; and thus they all ſpeak, if neceſſary, by turns.

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On this occaſion their language is nervous, and their manner of expreſſion, emphatical. Their ſtyle is adorned with images, compariſons, and ſtrong metaphors, and is equal in allegories to that of any of the eaſtern nations. In all their ſet ſpeeches they expreſs themſelves with much vehemence, but in common diſcourſe according to our uſual method of ſpeech.

The young men are ſuffered to be preſent at the councils, though they are not allowed to make a ſpeech till they are regularly admitted: they however liſten with great attention, and to ſhew that they both underſtand, and approve of the reſolutions taken by the aſſembled chiefs, they frequently exclaim, "That is right." "That is good."

The cuſtomary mode among all the ranks of expreſſing their aſſent, and which they repeat at the end of almoſt every period, is by uttering a kind of forcible aſpiration, which ſounds like an union of the letters OAH.

CHAPTER VI.

Of their FEASTS.

MANY of the Indian nations neither make uſe of bread, ſalt, or ſpices; and ſome of them have never ſeen or taſted of either. The Naudoweſſies in particular have no bread, nor any ſubſtitute for it. They eat the wild rice which grows in great quantities in different parts of their territories; but they boil it and eat it alone. They alſo eat the fleſh of the beaſts they kill, without having recourſe to any farinaceous ſubſtance to abſorb the groſſer particles of it. And even when they conſume the ſugar which they have extracted from the maple tree, they uſe it not to render ſome other food palatable, but generally eat it by itſelf.

Neither have they any idea of the uſe of milk, although they might collect great quantities from the buffalo or the elk; they only conſider it as proper for the nutriment of the young of theſe beaſts during their tender ſtate. I could not perceive

ceive that any inconveniency attended the total diſuſe of articles eſteemed ſo neceſſary and nutritious by other nations, on the contrary, they are in general healthy and vigorous.

One diſh however, which anſwers nearly the ſame purpoſe as bread, is in uſe among the Ottagaumies, the Saukies, and the more eaſtern nations, where Indian corn grows, which is not only much eſteemed by them, but it is reckoned extremely palatable by all the Europeans who enter their dominions. This is compoſed of their unripe corn as before deſcribed, and beans in the ſame ſtate, boiled together with bears fleſh, the fat of which moiſtens the pulſe, and renders it beyond compariſon delicious. They call this food Succatoſh.

The Indians are far from being canibals, as they are ſaid to be. All their victuals are either roaſted or boiled; and this in the extreme. Their drink is generally the broth in which it has been boiled.

Their food conſiſts of the fleſh of the bear, the buffalo, the elk, the deer, the

beaver, and the racoon; which they prepare in the manner juſt mentioned. They uſually eat the fleſh of the deer which is naturally dry, with that of the bear which is fat and juicy; and though the latter is extremely rich and luſcious, it is never known to cloy.

In the ſpring of the year the Naudoweſſies eat the inſide bark of a ſhrub, that they gather in ſome part of their country; but I could neither learn the name of it, or diſcover from whence they got it. It was of a brittle nature and eaſily maſticated. The taſte of it was very agreeable, and they ſaid it was extremely nouriſhing. In flavour it was not unlike the turnip, and when received into the mouth reſembled that root both in its pulpous and frangible nature.

The lower ranks of the Indians are exceedingly naſty in dreſſing their victuals, but ſome of the chiefs are very neat and cleanly in their apparel, tents, and food.

They commonly eat in large parties, ſo that their meals may properly be termed feaſts; and this they do without being reſtricted

ſtricted to any fixed or regular hours, but juſt as their appetites require, and convenience ſuits.

They uſually dance either before or after every meal; and by this cheerfulneſs probably render the Great Spirit, to whom they conſider themſelves as indebted for every good, a more acceptable ſacrifice than a formal and unanimated thankſgiving. The men and women feaſt apart: and each ſex invite by turns their companions to partake with them of the food they happen to have; but in their domeſtic way of living the men and women eat together.

No people are more hoſpitable, kind, and free than the Indians. They will readily ſhare with any of their own tribe the laſt part of their proviſions, and even with thoſe of a different nation, if they chance to come in when they are eating. Though they do not keep one common ſtock, yet that community of goods which is ſo prevalent among them, and their generous diſpoſition, render it nearly of the ſame effect.

When the chiefs are convened on any public

public buſineſs, they always conclude with a feaſt, at which their feſtivity and cheerfulneſs knows no limits.

CHAPTER VII.

Of their DANCES.

DANCING is a favourite exerciſe among the Indians; they never meet on any public occaſion, but this makes a part of the entertainment. And when they are not engaged in war or hunting, the youth of both ſexes amuſe themſelves in this manner every evening.

They always dance, as I have juſt obſerved, at their feaſt. In theſe as well as all their other dances, every man riſes in his turn, and moves about with great freedom and boldneſs; ſinging as he does ſo, the exploits of his anceſtors. During this the company, who are ſeated on the ground in a circle, around the dancer, join with him in marking the cadence, by an odd tone, which they utter all together, and which ſounds, "Heh, heh, "heh,"

" heh." Theſe notes, if they might be ſo termed, are articulated with a harſh accent, and ſtrained out with the utmoſt force of their lungs; ſo that one would imagine their ſtrength muſt be ſoon exhauſted by it; inſtead of which, they repeat it with the ſame violence during the whole of their entertainment.

The women, particularly thoſe of the weſtern nations, dance very gracefully. They carry themſelves erect, and with their arms hanging down cloſe to their ſides, move firſt a few yards to the right, and then back again to the left. This movement they perform without taking any ſteps as an European would do, but with their feet conjoined, moving by turns their toes and heels. In this manner they glide with great agility to a certain diſtance, and then return; and let thoſe who join in the dance be ever ſo numerous, they keep time ſo exactly with each other that no interruption enſues. During this, at ſtated periods they mingle their ſhrill voices with the hoarſer ones of the men who ſit around (for it is to be obſerved that the ſexes never intermix in the ſame dance) which, with the muſic

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of the drums and chichicoues, make an agreeable harmony.

The Indians have ſeveral kinds of dances which they uſe on different occaſions, as the Pipe or Calumate Dance, the War Dance, the Marriage Dance, and the Dance of the Sacrifice. The movements in every one of theſe are diſſimilar; but it is almoſt impoſſible to convey any idea of the points in which they are unlike.

Different nations likewiſe vary in their manner of dancing. The Chipéways throw themſelves into a greater variety of attitudes than any other people; ſometimes they hold their heads erect, at others they bend them almoſt to the ground; then recline on one ſide, and immediately after on the other. The Naudoweſſies carry themſelves more upright, ſtep firmer, and move more gracefully. But they all accompany their dances with the diſagreeable noiſe juſt mentioned.

The Pipe Dance is the principal, and the moſt pleaſing to a ſpectator of any of them, being the leaſt frantic, and the movement of it the moſt graceful. It

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is but on particular occaſions that it is uſed; as when ambaſſadors from an enemy arrive to treat of peace, or when ſtrangers of eminence paſs through their territories.

The War Dance, which they uſe both before they ſet out on their war parties, and on their return from them, ſtrikes terror into ſtrangers. It is performed, as the others, amidſt a circle of the warriors; a chief generally begins it, who moves from the right to the left, ſinging at the ſame time both his own exploits, and thoſe of his anceſtors. When he has concluded his account of any memorable action, he gives a violent blow with his war-club againſt a poſt that is fixed in the ground, near the center of the aſſembly, for this purpoſe.

Every one dances in his turn, and recapitulates the wondrous deeds of his family, till they all at laſt join in the dance. Then it becomes truly alarming to any ſtranger that happens to be among them, as they throw themſelves into every horrible and terrifying poſture that can be imagined, rehearſing at the ſame time the parts they expect to act againſt their enemies

mies in the field. During this they hold their ſharp knives in their hands, with which, as they whirl about, they are every moment in danger of cutting each others throats; and did they not ſhun the threatened miſchief with inconceivable dexterity, it could not be avoided. By theſe motions they intend to repreſent the manner in which they kill, ſcalp, and take their priſoners. To heighten the ſcene, they ſet up the ſame hideous yells, cries, and war-hoops they uſe in time of action: ſo that it is impoſſible to conſider them in any other light than as an aſſembly of demons.

I have frequently joined in this dance with them, but it ſoon ceaſed to be an amuſement to me, as I could not lay aſide my apprehenſions of receiving ſome dreadful wound, that from the violence of their geſtures muſt have proved mortal.

I found that the nations to the weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi, and on the borders of Lake Superior, ſtill continue to make uſe of the Pawwaw or Black Dance. The people of the colonies tell a thouſand ridiculous ſtories of the devil being raiſed

raiſed in this dance by the Indians. But they allow that this was in former times, and is now nearly extinct among thoſe who live adjacent to the European ſettlements. However I diſcovered that it was ſtill uſed in the interior parts; and though I did not actually ſee the devil raiſed by it, I was witneſs to ſome ſcenes that could only be performed by ſuch as dealt with him, or were very expert and dextrous jugglers.

Whilſt I was among the Naudoweſſies, a dance, which they thus termed, was performed. Before the dance began, one of the Indians was admitted into a ſociety which they denominated Wakon-Kitchewah, that is, the Friendly Society of the Spirit. This ſociety is compoſed of perſons of both ſexes, but ſuch only can be admitted into it as are of unexceptionable character, and who receive the approbation of the whole body. To this admiſſion ſucceeded the Pawwaw Dance (in which I ſaw nothing that could give riſe to the reports I had heard) and the whole, according to their uſual cuſtom, concluded with a grand feaſt.

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The initiation being attended with ſome very ſingular circumſtances, which, as I have before obſerved, muſt be either the effect of magic, or of amazing dexterity, I ſhall give a particular account of the whole procedure. It was performed at the time of the new moon, in a place appropriated to the purpoſe near the centre of their camp, that would contain about two hundred people. Being a ſtranger, and on all occaſions treated by them with great civility, I was invited to ſee the ceremony, and placed cloſe to the rails of the incloſure.

About twelve o'clock they began to aſſemble; when the ſun ſhone bright, which they conſidered as a good omen, for they never by choice hold any of their public meetings unleſs the ſky be clear and unclouded. A great number of chiefs firſt appeared, who were dreſſed in their beſt apparel; and after them came the head-warrior, clad in a long robe of rich furs that trailed on the ground, attended by a retinue of fifteen or twenty perſons, painted and dreſſed in the gayeſt manner. Next followed the wives of ſuch as had been already admitted into

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he ſociety; and in the rear a confuſed heap of the lower ranks, all contributing as much as lay in their power to make the appearance grand and ſhowy.

When the aſſembly was ſeated, and ſilence proclaimed, one of the principal chiefs aroſe, and in a ſhort but maſterly ſpeech informed his audience of the occaſion of their meeting. He acquainted them that one of their young men wiſhed to be admitted into their ſociety; and taking him by the hand preſented him to their view, aſking them, at the ſame time, whether they had any objection to his becoming one of their community.

No objection being made, the young candidate was placed in the centre, and four of the chiefs took their ſtations cloſe to him; after exhorting him, by turns, not to faint under the operation he was about to go through, but to behave like an Indian and a man, two of them took hold of his arms, and cauſed him to kneel; another placed himſelf behind him ſo as to receive him when he fell, and the laſt of the four retired to the diſtance of about twelve feet from him exactly in front.

This diſpoſition being completed, the chief that ſtood before the kneeling candidate, began to ſpeak to him with an audible voice. He told him that he himſelf was now agitated by the ſame ſpirit which he ſhould in a few moments communicate to him; that it would ſtrike him dead, but that he would inſtantly be reſtored again to life; to this he added, that the communication, however terrifying, was a neceſſary introduction to the advantages enjoyed by the community into which he was on the point of being admitted.

As he ſpoke this, he appeared to be greatly agitated; till at laſt his emotions became ſo violent, that his countenance was diſtorted, and his whole frame convulſed. At this juncture he threw ſomething that appeared both in ſhape and colour like a ſmall bean, at the young man, which ſeemed to enter his mouth, and he inſtantly fell as motionleſs as if he had been ſhot. The chief that was placed behind him received him in his arms, and, by the aſſiſtance of the other two, laid him on the ground to all appearance bereft of life.

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Having done this, they immediately began to rub his limbs, and to ſtrike him on the back, giving him ſuch blows, as ſeemed more calculated to ſtill the quick, than to raiſe the dead. During theſe extraordinary applications, the ſpeaker continued his harangue, deſiring the ſpectators not to be ſurprized, or to deſpair of the young man's recovery, as his preſent inanimate ſituation proceeded only from the forcible operation of the ſpirit, on faculties that had hitherto been unuſed to inſpirations of this kind.

The candidate lay ſeveral minutes without ſenſe or motion; but at length, after receiving many violent blows, he began to diſcover ſome ſymptoms of returning life. Theſe, however, were attended with ſtrong convulſions, and an apparent obſtruction in his throat. But they were ſoon at an end; for having diſcharged from his mouth the bean, or whatever it was that the chief had thrown at him, but which on the cloſeſt inſpection I had not perceived to enter it, he ſoon after appeared to be tolerably recovered.

This part of the ceremony being happily effected, the officiating chiefs diſrobed him of the cloaths he had uſually worn, and put on him a ſet of apparel entirely new. When he was dreſſed, the ſpeaker once more took him by the hand, and preſented him to the ſociety as a regular and thoroughly initiated member, exhorting them, at the ſame time, to give him ſuch neceſſary aſſiſtance, as being a young member, he might ſtand in need of. He then alſo charged the newly elected brother to receive with humility, and to follow with punctuality the advice of his elder brethren.

All thoſe who had been admitted within the rails, now formed a circle around their new brother, and the muſic ſtriking up, the great chief ſung a ſong, celebrating as uſual their martial exploits.

The only muſic they make uſe of is a drum, which is compoſed of a piece of a hollow tree curiouſly wrought, and over one end of which is ſtrained a ſkin, this they beat with a ſingle ſtick, and it gives a ſound that is far from harmonious, but it juſt ſerves to beat time with. To this they ſometimes add the chichicoe,

and in their war dances they likewiſe uſe a kind of fife, formed of a reed, which makes a ſhrill harſh noiſe.

The whole aſſembly were by this time united, and the dance began; ſeveral ſingers aſſiſted the muſic with their voices, and the women joining in the chorus at certain intervals, they produced together a not unpleaſing but ſavage harmony. This was one of the moſt agreeable entertainments I ſaw whilſt I was among them.

I could not help laughing at a ſingular childiſh cuſtom I obſerved they introduced into this dance, and which was the only one that had the leaſt appearance of conjuration. Moſt of the members carried in their hands an otter or martin's ſkin, which being taken whole from the body, and filled with wind, on being compreſſed made a ſqueaking noiſe through a ſmall piece of wood organically formed and fixed in its mouth. When this inſtrument was preſented to the face of any of the company, and the ſound emitted, the perſon receiving it inſtantly fell down to appearance dead. Sometimes two or three, both men and women, were on

the ground together; but immediately recovering, they roſe up and joined again in the dance. This ſeemed to afford, even the chiefs themſelves, infinite diverſion. I afterwards learned that theſe were their Dii Penates or Houſhold Gods.

After ſome hours ſpent in this manner the feaſt began; the diſhes being brought near me, I perceived that they conſiſted of dog's fleſh; and I was informed that at all their public grand feaſts they never made uſe of any other kind of food. For this purpoſe, at the feaſt I am now ſpeaking of, the new candidate provides fat dogs, if they can be procured at any price.

In this cuſtom of eating dog's fleſh on particular occaſions, they reſemble the inhabitants of ſome of the countries that lie on the north-eaſt borders of Aſia. The author of the account of Kamſchatka, publiſhed by order of the Empreſs of Ruſſia (before referred to) informs us, that the people inhabiting Koreka, a country north of Kamſchatka, who wander about in hords like the Arabs, when they pay their worſhip to the evil beings, kill a rein-deer or a dog, the fleſh of which they

they eat, and leave the head and tongue ſticking on a pole with the front towards the eaſt. Alſo that when they are afraid of any infectious diſtemper, they kill a dog, and winding the guts about two poles, paſs between them. Theſe cuſtoms, in which they are nearly imitated by the Indians, ſeem to add ſtrength to my ſuppoſition, that America was firſt peopled from this quarter.

I know not under what claſs of dances to rank that performed by the Indians who came to my tent when I landed near Lake Pepin, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, as related in my Journals. When I looked out, as I there mentioned, I ſaw about twenty naked young Indians, the moſt perfect in their ſhape, and by far the handſomeſt of any I had ever ſeen, coming towards me, and dancing as they approached, to the muſic of their drums. At every ten or twelve yards they halted, and ſet up their yells and cries.

When they reached my tent, I aſked them to come in; which, without deigning to make me any anſwer, they did. As I obſerved that they were painted red and and black, as they uſually are when they

go againſt an enemy, and perceived that ſome parts of the war-dance were intermixed with their other movements, I doubted not but they were ſet on by the inimical chief who had refuſed my ſalutation: I therefore determined to ſell my life as dear as poſſible. To this purpoſe, I received them ſitting on my cheſt, with my gun and piſtols beſide me, and ordered my men to keep a watchful eye on them, and to be alſo upon their guard.

The Indians being entered, they continued their dance alternately, ſinging at the ſame time of their heroic exploits, and the ſuperiority of their race over every other people. To enforce their language, though it was uncommonly nervous and expreſſive, and ſuch as would of itſelf have carried terror to the firmeſt heart, at the end of every period they ſtruck their war-clubs againſt the poles of my tent, with ſuch violence, that I expected every moment it would have tumbled upon us. As each of them, in dancing round, paſſed by me, they placed their right hands over their eyes, and coming cloſe to me, looked me ſteadily

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in the face, which I could not conſtrue into a token of friendſhip. My men gave themſelves up for loſt, and I acknowledge, for my own part, that I never found my apprehenſions more tumultuous on any occaſion.

When they had nearly ended their dance, I preſented to them the pipe of peace, but they would not receive it. I then, as my laſt reſource, thought I would try what preſents would do; accordingly I took from my cheſt ſome ribands and trinkets, which I laid before them. Theſe ſeemed to ſtagger their reſolutions, and to avert in ſome degree their anger; for after holding a conſultation together, they ſat down on the ground, which I conſidered as a favourable omen.

Thus it proved, as in a ſhort time they received the pipe of peace, and lighting it, firſt preſented it to me, and then ſmoaked with it themſelves. Soon after they took up the preſents, which had hitherto lain neglected, and appearing to be greatly pleaſed with them, departed in a friendly manner. And never did I receive

greater

greater pleaſure than at getting rid of ſuch formidable gueſts.

It was not ever in my power to gain a thorough knowledge of the deſigns of my viſiters. I had ſufficient reaſon to conclude that they were hoſtile, and that their viſit, at ſo late an hour, was made through the inſtigation of the Grand Sautor; but I was afterwards informed that it might be intended as a compliment which they uſually pay to the chiefs of every other nation who happen to fall in with them, and that the circumſtances in their conduct, which had appeared ſo ſuſpicious to me, were merely the effects of their vanity, and deſigned to impreſs on the minds of thoſe whom they thus viſited an elevated opinion of their valour and proweſs. In the morning before I continued my route, ſeveral of their wives brought me a preſent of ſome ſugar, for whom I found a few more ribands.

The Dance of the ſacrifice is not ſo denominated from their offering up at the ſame time a ſacrifice to any good or evil ſpirit, but is a dance to which the Naudoweſſies give that title from being uſed when any public fortunate circumſtance befalls

befalls them. Whilſt I reſided among them, a fine large deer accidentally ſtrayed into the middle of their encampment, which they ſoon deſtroyed. As this happened juſt at the new moon, they eſteemed it a lucky omen; and having roaſted it whole, every one in the camp partook of it. After their feaſt, they all joined in a dance, which they termed, from its being ſomewhat of a religious nature, a Dance of the ſacrifice.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of their HUNTING.

HUNTING is the principal occupation of the Indians; they are trained to it from their earlieſt youth, and it is an exerciſe which is eſteemed no leſs honourable than neceſſary towards their ſubſiſtence. A dextrous and reſolute hunter is held nearly in as great eſtimation by them as a diſtinguiſhed warrior. Scarcely any device which the ingenuity of man has diſcovered for enſnaring or deſtroying thoſe animals that ſupply them with

with food, or whoſe ſkins are valuable to Europeans, is unknown to them.

Whilſt they are engaged in this exerciſe, they ſhake off the indolence peculiar to their nature, and become active, perſevering, and indefatigable. They are equally ſagacious in finding their prey, and in the means they uſe to deſtroy it. They diſcern the footſteps of the beaſts they are in purſuit of, although they are imperceptible to every other eye, and can follow them with certainty through the pathleſs foreſt.

The beaſts that the Indians hunt, both for their fleſh on which they ſubſiſt, and for their ſkins, of which they either make their apparel, or barter with the Europeans for neceſſaries, are the buffalo, the elk, the deer, the mooſe, the carribboo, the bear, the beaver, the otter, the martin, &c. I defer giving a deſcription of theſe creatures here, and ſhall only at preſent treat of their manner of hunting them.

The route they ſhall take for this purpoſe, and the parties that ſhall go on the different expeditions are fixed in their general councils which are held ſome time in the ſummer, when all the operations for

for the enſuing winter are concluded on. The chief-warrior, whoſe province it is to regulate their proceedings on this occaſion, with great ſolemnity iſſues out an invitation to thoſe who chooſe to attend him; for the Indians, as before obſerved, acknowledge no ſuperiority, nor have they any idea of compulſion; and every one that accepts it prepares himſelf by faſting during ſeveral days.

The Indians do not faſt as ſome other nations do, on the richeſt and moſt luxurious food, but they totally abſtain from every kind either of victuals or drink; and ſuch is their patience and reſolution, that the moſt extreme thirſt could not oblige them to taſte a drop of water; yet amidſt this ſevere abſtinence they appear cheerful and happy.

The reaſons they give for thus faſting, are, that it enables them freely to dream, in which dreams they are informed where they ſhall find the greateſt plenty of game; and alſo that it averts the diſpleaſure of the evil ſpirits, and induces them to be propitious. They alſo on theſe occaſions blacken thoſe parts of their bodies that are uncovered.

The

The faſt being ended, and the place of hunting made known, the chief who is to conduct them, gives a grand feaſt to thoſe who are to form the different parties; of which none of them dare to partake till they have bathed themſelves. At this feaſt, notwithſtanding they have faſted ſo long, they eat with great moderation; and the chief that preſides employs himſelf in rehearſing the feats of thoſe who have been moſt ſucceſsful in the buſineſs they are about to enter upon. They ſoon after ſet out on the march towards the place appointed, painted or rather bedaubed with black, amidſt the acclamations of all the people.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe their agility or perſeverance, whilſt they are in purſuit of their prey; neither thickets, ditches, torrents, pools, or rivers ſtop them; they always go ſtrait forward in the moſt direct line they poſſibly can, and there are few of the ſavage inhabitants of the woods that they cannot overtake.

When they hunt for bears, they endeavour to find out their retreats; for, during the winter, theſe animals conceal them-

themſelves in the hollow trunks of trees, or make themſelves holes in the ground, where they continue without food, whilſt the ſevere weather laſts.

When the Indians think they have arrived at a place where theſe creatures uſually haunt, they form themſelves into a circle according to their number, and moving onward, endeavour, as they advance towards the centre, to diſcover the retreats of their prey. By this means, if any lie in the intermediate ſpace, they are ſure of arouſing them, and bringing them down either with their bows or their guns. The bears will take to flight at ſight of a man or a dog, and will only make reſiſtance when they are extremely hungry, or after they are wounded.

The Indian method of hunting the buffalo is by forming a circle or a ſquare, nearly in the ſame manner as when they ſearch for the bear. Having taken their different ſtations, they ſet the graſs, which at this time is rank and dry, on fire, and theſe animals, who are extremely fearful of that element, flying with precipitation before it, great numbers are hemmed in

a ſmall

a ſmall compaſs, and ſcarcely a ſingle one eſcapes.

They have different ways of hunting the elk, the deer, and the carribboo. Sometimes they ſeek them out in the woods, to which they retire during the ſeverity of the cold, where they are eaſily ſhot from behind the trees. In the more northern climates they take the advantage of the weather to deſtroy the elk; when the ſun has juſt ſtrength enough to melt the ſnow, and the froſt in the night forms a kind of cruſt on the ſurface, this creature being heavy, breaks it with his forked hoofs, and with difficulty extricates himſelf from it: at this time therefore he is ſoon overtaken and deſtroyed.

Some nations have a method of hunting theſe animals which is more eaſily executed, and free from danger. The hunting party divide themſelves into two bands, and chooſing a ſpot near the borders of ſome river, one party embarks on board their canoes, whilſt the other forming themſelves into a ſemi-circle on the land, the flanks of which reach the ſhore, let looſe their dogs, and by this means rouſe all the game that lies within theſe bounds;

bounds; they then drive them towards the river, into which they no ſooner enter, than the greateſt part of them are immediately diſpatched by thoſe who remain in the canoes.

Both the elk and the buffalo are very furious when they are wounded, and will return fiercely on their purſuers, and trample them under their feet, if the hunter finds not means to complete their deſtruction, or ſeeks for ſecurity in flight to ſome adjacent tree; by this method they are frequently avoided, and ſo tired with the purſuit, that they voluntarily give it over.

But the hunting in which the Indians, particularly thoſe who inhabit the northern parts, chiefly employ themſelves, and from which they reap the greateſt advantage, is the beaver hunting. The ſeaſon for this is throughout the whole of the winter, from November to April; during which time the fur of theſe creatures is in the greateſt perfection. A deſcription of this extraordinary animal, the conſtruction of their huts, and the regulations of their almoſt rational community, I ſhall give in another place.

The hunters make uſe of ſeveral methods to deſtroy them. Thoſe generally practiſed, are either that of taking them in ſnares, cutting through the ice, or opening their cauſeways.

As the eyes of theſe animals are very quick, and their hearing exceedingly acute, great precaution is neceſſary in approaching their abodes; for as they ſeldom go far from the water, and their houſes are always built cloſe to the ſide of ſome large river or lake, or dams of their own conſtructing, upon the leaſt alarm they haſten to the deepeſt part of the water, and dive immediately to the bottom; as they do this they make a great noiſe by beating the water with their tails, on purpoſe to put the whole fraternity on their guard.

They take them with ſnares in the following manner: though the beavers uſually lay up a ſufficient ſtore of proviſion to ſerve for their ſubſiſtence during the winter, they make from time to time excurſions to the neighbouring woods to procure further ſupplies of food. The hunters having found out their haunts, place a trap in their way, baited with ſmall pieces of bark, or young ſhoots of trees, which

which the beaver has no ſooner laid hold of, than a large log of wood falls upon him, and breaks his back; his enemies, who are upon the watch, ſoon appear, and inſtantly diſpatch the helpleſs animal.

At other times, when the ice on the rivers and lakes is about half a foot thick, they make an opening through it with their hatchets, to which the beavers will ſoon haſten, on being diſturbed at their houſes, for a ſupply of freſh air. As their breath occaſions a conſiderable motion in the waters, the hunter has ſufficient notice of their approach, and methods are eaſily taken for knocking them on the head the moment they appear above the ſurface.

When the houſes of the beavers happen to be near a rivulet, they are more eaſily deſtroyed: the hunters then cut the ice, and ſpreading a net under it, break down the cabins of the beavers, who never fail to make towards the deepeſt part, where they are entangled and taken. But they muſt not be ſuffered to remain there long, as they would ſoon extricate themſelves with their teeth, which are well known to be exceſſively ſharp and ſtrong.

The Indians take great care to hinder their dogs from touching the bones of the beavers. The reaſons they give for theſe precautions, are, firſt that the bones are ſo exceſſively hard, that they ſpoil the teeth of the dogs; and, ſecondly, that they are apprehenſive they ſhall ſo exaſperate the ſpirits of the beavers by this permiſſion, as to render the next hunting ſeaſon unſucceſsful.

The ſkins of theſe animals the hunters exchange with the Europeans for neceſſaries, and as they are more valued by the latter than any other kind of furs, they pay the greateſt attention to this ſpecies of hunting.

When the Indians deſtroy buffalos, elks, deer, &c. they generally divide the fleſh of ſuch as they have taken among the tribe to which they belong. But in hunting the beaver a few families uſually unite and divide the ſpoil between them. Indeed, in the firſt inſtance they generally pay ſome attention in the diviſion to their own families; but no jealouſies or murmurings are ever known to ariſe on account of any apparent partiality.

Among

Among the Naudoweſſies, if a perſon ſhoots a deer, buffalo, &c. and it runs to a conſiderable diſtance before it drops, where a perſon belonging to another tribe, being nearer, firſt ſticks a knife into it, the game is conſidered as the property of the latter, notwithſtanding it had been mortally wounded by the former. Though this cuſtom appears to be arbitrary and unjuſt, yet that people cheerfully ſubmit to it. This deciſion is, however, very different from that practiſed by the Indians on the back of the colonies, where the firſt perſon that hits it is entitled to the beſt ſhare.

CHAPTER IX.

Of their Manner of making WAR, *&c.*

THE Indians begin to bear arms at the age of fifteen, and lay them aſide when they arrive at the age of ſixty. Some nations to the ſouthward, I have been informed, do not continue their military exerciſes after they are fifty.

In every band or nation there is a ſelect number who are ſtiled the Warriors, and who are always ready to act either offenſively or defenſively, as occaſion requires. Theſe are well armed, bearing the weapons commonly in uſe among them, which vary according to the ſituation of their countries. Such as have an intercourſe with the Europeans make uſe of tomahawks, knives, and fire-arms; but thoſe whoſe dwellings are ſituated to the weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi, and who have not an opportunity of purchaſing theſe kinds of weapons, uſe bows and arrows, and alſo the Caſſé Tête or War-club.

The Indians that inhabit ſtill farther to the weſtward, a country which extends to the South Sea, uſe in fight a warlike inſtrument that is very uncommon. Having great plenty of horſes, they always attack their enemies on horſeback, and encumber themſelves with no other weapon, than a ſtone of a middling ſize, curiouſly wrought, which they faſten by a ſtring, about a yard and half long, to their right arms, a little above the elbow. Theſe ſtones they conveniently carry in their hands till they reach their enemies,

and then ſwinging them with great dexterity, as they ride full ſpeed, never fail of doing execution. The country which theſe tribes poſſeſs, abounding with large extenſive plains, thoſe who attack them ſeldom return; as the ſwiftneſs of the horſes on which they are mounted, enables them to overtake even the fleeteſt of their invaders.

The Naudoweſſies, who had been at war with this people, informed me, that unleſs they found moraſſes or thickets to which they could retire, they were ſure of being cut off: to prevent this they always took care whenever they made an onſet, to do it near ſuch retreats as were impaſſable for cavalry, they then having a great advantage over their enemies, whoſe weapons would not there reach them.

Some nations make uſe of a javelin pointed with bone worked into different forms; but their Indian weapons in general are bows and arrows, and the ſhort club already mentioned. The latter is made of a very hard wood, and the head of it faſhioned round like a ball, about three inches and a half diameter; in this

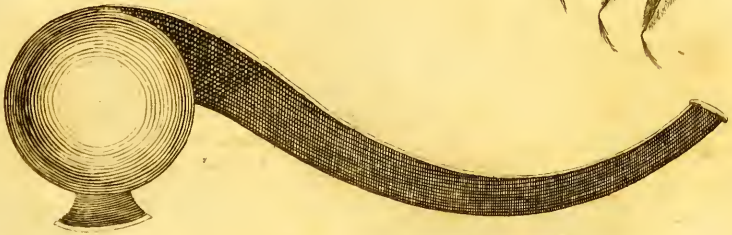
rotund part is fixed an edge reſembling that of a tomahawk, either of ſteel or flint, whichever they can procure; ſimilar to that repreſented in Plate N° IV.

The dagger placed near it in the ſame plate, is peculiar to the Naudoweſſie nation, and of ancient conſtruction, but they can give no account how long it has been in uſe among them. It was originally made of flint or bone, but ſince they have had communication with the European traders, they have formed it of ſteel. The length of it is about ten inches, and that part cloſe to the handle nearly three inches broad. Its edges are keen, and it gradually tapers towards a point. They wear it in a ſheath made of deer's leather, neatly ornamented with porcupine quills; and it is uſually hung by a ſtring, decorated in the ſame manner, which reaches as low only as the breaſt. This curious weapon is worn by a few of the principal chiefs alone, and conſidered both as an uſeful inſtrument, and an ornamental badge of ſuperiority.

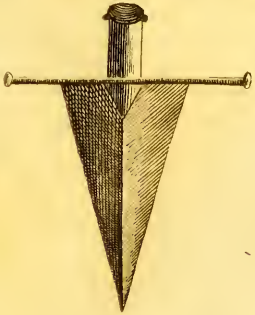
I obſerved among the Naudoweſſies a few targets or ſhields made of raw buffalo hides, and in the form of thoſe uſed by the

A Pipe of Peace.

A War Club, or Cassa Tate.
The Antient Tomahawk.



A Naudowessie Dagger:
formerly made of Stone.



the ancients. But as the number of theſe was ſmall, and I could gain no intelligence of the æra in which they firſt were introduced among them, I ſuppoſe thoſe I ſaw had deſcended from father to ſon for many generations.

The reaſons the Indians give for making war againſt one another, are much the ſame as thoſe urged by more civilized nations for diſturbing the tranquillity of their neighbours. The pleas of the former are however in general more rational and juſt, than ſuch as are brought by Europeans in vindication of their proceedings.

The extenſion of empire is ſeldom a motive with theſe people to invade, and to commit depredations on the territories of thoſe who happen to dwell near them. To ſecure the rights of hunting within particular limits, to maintain the liberty of paſſing through their accuſtomed tracks, and to guard thoſe lands which they conſider from a long tenure as their own, againſt any infringement, are the general cauſes of thoſe diſſenſions that ſo often break out between the Indian nations, and which are carried on with ſo much

much animoſity. Though ſtrangers to the idea of ſeparate property, yet the moſt uncultivated among them are well acquainted with the rights of their community to the domains they poſſeſs, and oppoſe with vigour every encroachment on them.

Notwithſtanding it is generally ſuppoſed that from their territories being ſo extenſive, the boundaries of them cannot be aſcertained, yet I am well aſſured that the limits of each nation in the interior parts are laid down in their rude plans with great preciſion. By theirs, as I have before obſerved, was I enabled to regulate my own; and after the moſt exact obſervations and enquiries found very few inſtances in which they erred.

But intereſt is not either the moſt frequent or moſt powerful incentive to their making war on each other. The paſſion of revenge, which is the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of theſe people, is the moſt general motive. Injuries are felt by them with exquiſite ſenſibility, and vengeance purſued with unremitted ardour. To this may be added, that natural excitation which every Indian becomes ſenſible

ſible of as ſoon as he approaches the age of manhood to give proofs of his valour and proweſs.

As they are early poſſeſſed with a notion that war ought to be the chief buſineſs of their lives, that there is nothing more deſirous than the reputation of being a great warrior, and that the ſcalps of their enemies or a number of priſoners are alone to be eſteemed valuable, it is not to be wondered at that the younger Indians are continually reſtleſs and uneaſy if their ardour is repreſſed, and they are kept in a ſtate of inactivity. Either of theſe propenſities, the deſire of revenge, or the gratification of an impulſe that by degrees becomes habitual to them, is ſufficient, frequently, to induce them to commit hoſtilities on ſome of the neighbouring nations.

When the chiefs find any occaſion for making war, they endeavour to arouſe theſe habitudes, and by that means ſoon excite their warriors to take arms. To this purpoſe they make uſe of their martial eloquence nearly in the following words, which never fails of proving effectual: "The bones of our deceaſed

"country-

" countrymen lie uncovered, they call
" out to us to revenge their wrongs,
" and we muſt ſatisfy their requeſt.
" Their ſpirits cry out againſt us, they
" muſt be appeaſed. The genii, who
" are the guardians of our honour,
" inſpire us with a reſolution to ſeek
" the enemies of our murdered bro-
" thers. Let us go and devour thoſe by
" whom they were ſlain. Sit therefore
" no longer inactive, give way to the
" impulſe of your natural valour, anoint
" your hair, paint your faces, fill your
" quivers, cauſe the foreſts to reſound
" with your ſongs, conſole the ſpirits of
" the dead, and tell them they ſhall be
" revenged."

Animated by theſe exhortations the warriors ſnatch their arms in a tranſport of fury, ſing the ſong of war, and burn with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies.

Sometimes private chiefs aſſemble ſmall parties, and make excurſions againſt thoſe with whom they are at war, or ſuch as have injured them. A ſingle warrior, prompted by revenge or a deſire to ſhow his proweſs, will march unattended for

ſeveral hundred miles, to ſurprize and cut off a ſtraggling party.

Theſe irregular ſallies, however, are not always approved of by the elder chiefs, though they are often obliged to connive at them; as in the inſtance before given of the Naudoweſſie and Chipéway nations.

But when a war is national, and undertaken by the community, their deliberations are formal and ſlow. The elders aſſemble in council, to which all the head warriors and young men are admitted, where they deliver their opinions in ſolemn ſpeeches, weighing with maturity the nature of the enterprize they are about to engage in, and balancing with great ſagacity the advantages or inconveniences that will ariſe from it.

Their prieſts are alſo conſulted on the ſubject, and even, ſometimes, the advice of the moſt intelligent of their women is aſked.

If the determination be for war, they prepare for it with much ceremony.

The chief warrior of a nation does not on all occaſions head the war party himſelf, he frequently deputes a warrior of whoſe

whoſe valour and prudence he has a good opinion. The perſon thus fixed on being firſt bedawbed with black, obſerves a faſt of ſeveral days, during which he invokes the Great Spirit, or deprecates the anger of the evil ones, holding whilſt it laſts no converſe with any of his tribe.

He is particularly careful at the ſame time to obſerve his dreams, for on theſe do they ſuppoſe their ſucceſs will in a great meaſure depend; and from the firm perſuaſion every Indian actuated by his own preſumptuous thoughts is impreſſed with, that he ſhall march forth to certain victory, theſe are generally favourable to his wiſhes.

After he has faſted as long as cuſtom preſcribes, he aſſembles the warriors, and holding a belt of wampum in his hand thus addreſſes them:

" Brothers! by the inſpiration of the " Great Spirit I now ſpeak unto you, " and by him am I prompted to carry " into execution the intentions which I " am about to diſcloſe to you. The " blood of our deceaſed brothers is not " yet wiped away; their bodies are not

" yet

" yet covered, and I am going to per-
" form this duty to them."

Having then made known to them all the motives that induce him to take up arms againſt the nation with whom they are to engage, he thus proceeds: " I have " therefore reſolved to march through " the war-path to ſurprize them. We " will eat their fleſh and drink their " blood; we will take ſcalps, and make " priſoners; and ſhould we periſh in " this glorious enterprize, we ſhall not " be for ever hid in the duſt, for this " belt ſhall be a recompence to him who " buries the dead." Having ſaid this, he lays the belt on the ground, and he who takes it up declares himſelf his lieutenant, and is conſidered as the ſecond in command; this, however, is only done by ſome diſtinguiſhed warrior who has a right, by the number of his ſcalps, to the poſt.

Though the Indians thus aſſert that they will eat the fleſh and drink the blood of their enemies, the threat is only to be conſidered as a figurative expreſſion. Notwithſtanding they ſometimes devour the hearts of thoſe they ſlay, and drink their

their blood, by way of bravado, or to gratify in a more complete manner their revenge, yet they are not naturally anthropophagi, nor ever feed on the flesh of men.

The chief is now washed from his sable covering, anointed with bears fat, and painted, with their red paint, in such figures as will make him appear most terrible to his enemies. He then sings the war song, and enumerates his warlike actions. Having done this he fixes his eyes on the sun, and pays his adorations to the Great Spirit, in which he is accompanied by all the warriors.

This ceremony is followed with dances, such as I have before described; and the whole concludes with a feast which usually consists of dogs flesh.

This feast is held in the hut or tent of the chief warrior, to which all those who intend to accompany him in his expedition send their dishes to be filled; and during the feast, notwithstanding he has fasted so long, he sits composedly with his pipe in his mouth, and recounts the valorous deeds of his family.

As

As the hopes of having their wounds, ſhould they receive any, properly treated, and expeditiouſly cured, muſt be ſome additional inducement to the warriors to expoſe themſelves more freely to danger, the prieſts, who are alſo their doctors, prepare ſuch medicines as will prove efficacious. With great ceremony they collect various roots and plants, and pretend that they impart to them the power of healing.

Nowithſtanding this ſuperſtitious method of proceeding, it is very certain that they have acquired a knowledge of many plants and herbs that are of a medicinal quality, and which they know how to uſe with great ſkill.

From the time the reſolution of engaging in a war is taken, to the departure of the warriors, the nights are ſpent in feſtivity, and their days in making the needful preparations.

If it is thought neceſſary by the nation going to war, to ſolicit the alliance of any neighbouring tribe, they fix upon one of their chiefs who ſpeaks the language of that people well, and who is a good orator, and ſend to them by him a

belt of wampum, on which is ſpecified the purport of the embaſſy in figures that every nation is well acquainted with. At the ſame time he carries with him a hatchet painted red.

As ſoon as he reaches the camp or village to which he is deſtined, he acquaints the chief of the tribe with the general tenor of his commiſſion, who immediately aſſembles a council, to which the ambaſſador is invited. There having laid the hatchet on the ground he holds the belt in his hand, and enters more minutely into the occaſion of his embaſſy. In his ſpeech he invites them to take up the hatchet, and as ſoon as he has finiſhed ſpeaking delivers the belt.

If his hearers are inclined to become auxiliaries to his nation, a chief ſteps forward and takes up the hatchet, and they immediately eſpouſe with ſpirit the cauſe they have thus engaged to ſupport. But if on this application neither the belt or hatchet are accepted, the emiſſary concludes that the people whoſe aſſiſtance he ſolicits have already entered into an alliance with the foes of his nation, and re-

turns with ſpeed to inform his countrymen of his ill ſucceſs.

The manner in which the Indians declare war againſt each other, is by ſending a ſlave with a hatchet, the handle of which is painted red, to the nation which they intend to break with; and the meſſenger, notwithſtanding the danger to which he is expoſed from the ſudden fury of thoſe whom he thus ſets at defiance, executes his commiſſion with great fidelity.

Sometimes this token of defiance has ſuch an inſtantaneous effect on thoſe to whom it is preſented, that in the firſt tranſports of their fury a ſmall party will iſſue forth, without waiting for the permiſſion of the elder chiefs, and ſlaying the firſt of the offending nation they meet, cut open the body and ſtick a hatchet of the ſame kind as that they have juſt received, into the heart of their ſlaughtered foe. Among the more remote tribes this is done with an arrow or ſpear, the end of which is painted red. And the more to exaſperate, they diſmember the body, to ſhow that they eſteem them not as men but as old women.

The Indians ſeldom take the field in large bodies, as ſuch numbers would require a greater degree of induſtry to provide for their ſubſiſtence, during their tedious marches through dreary foreſts, or long voyages over lakes and rivers, than they would care to beſtow.

Their armies are never encumbered with baggage or military ſtores. Each warrior, beſides his weapons, carries with him only a mat, and whilſt at a diſtance from the frontiers of the enemy ſupports himſelf with the game he kills or the fiſh he catches.

When they paſs through a country where they have no apprehenſions of meeting with an enemy, they uſe very little precaution: ſometimes there are ſcarcely a dozen warriors left together, the reſt being diſperſed in purſuit of their game; but though they ſhould have roved to a very conſiderable diſtance from the war-path, they are ſure to arrive at the place of rendezvous by the hour appointed.

They always pitch their tents long before ſun-ſet; and being naturally preſumptuous take very little care to guard againſt

againſt a ſurprize. They place great confidence in their Manitous, or houſhold gods, which they always carry with them; and being perſuaded that they take upon them the office of centinels, they ſleep very ſecurely under their protection.

Theſe Manitous, as they are called by ſome nations, but which are termed Wakons, that is, ſpirits, by the Naudoweſſies, are nothing more than the otter and martins ſkins I have already deſcribed, for which, however, they have a great veneration.

After they have entered the enemies country, no people can be more cautious and circumſpect; fires are no longer lighted, no more ſhouting is heard, nor the game any longer purſued. They are not even permitted to ſpeak; but muſt convey whatever they have to impart to each other by ſigns and motions.

They now proceed wholly by ſtratagem and ambuſcade. Having diſcovered their enemies, they ſend to reconnoitre them; and a council is immediately held, during which they ſpeak only in whiſpers,

to conſider of the intelligence imparted by thoſe who were ſent out.

The attack is generally made juſt before day-break, at which period they ſuppoſe their foes to be in the ſoundeſt ſleep. Throughout the whole of the preceding night they will lie flat upon their faces, without ſtirring; and make their approaches in the ſame poſture, creeping upon their hands and feet till they are got within bow-ſhot of thoſe they have deſtined to deſtruction. On a ſignal given by the chief warrior, to which the whole body makes anſwer by the moſt hideous yells, they all ſtart up, and diſcharging their arrows in the ſame inſtant, without giving their adverſaries time to recover from the confuſion into which they are thrown, pour in upon them with their war-clubs or tomahawks.

The Indians think there is little glory to be acquired from attacking their enemies openly in the field; their greateſt pride is to ſurprize and deſtroy. They ſeldom engage without a manifeſt appearance of advantage. If they find the enemy on their guard, too ſtrongly entrenched, or

ſuperior

ſuperior in numbers, they retire, provided their is an opportunity of doing ſo. And they eſteem it the greateſt qualification of a chief warrior, to be able to manage an attack, ſo as to deſtroy as many of the enemy as poſſible, at the expence of a few men.

Sometimes they ſecure themſelves behind trees, hillocks, or ſtones, and having given one or two rounds retire before they are diſcovered. Europeans, who are unacquainted with this method of fighting too often find to their coſt the deſtructive efficacy of it.

General Braddock was one of this unhappy number. Marching in the year 1755, to attack Fort Du Queſne, he was intercepted by a party of French and confederate Indians in their intereſt, who by this inſidious method of engaging found means to defeat his army, which conſiſted of about two thouſand brave and well-diſciplined troops. So ſecurely were the Indians poſted, that the Engliſh ſcarcely knew from whence or by whom they were thus annoyed. During the whole of the engagement the latter had ſcarcely a ſight of an enemy; and were obliged

to retreat without the ſatisfaction of being able to take the leaſt degree of revenge for the havock made among them. The General paid for his temerity with his life, and was accompanied in his fall by a great number of brave fellows; whilſt his inviſible enemies had only two or three of their number wounded.

When the Indians ſucceed in their ſilent approaches, and are able to force the camp which they attack, a ſcene of horror, that exceeds deſcription, enſues. The ſavage fierceneſs of the conquerors, and the deſperation of the conquered, who well know what they have to expect ſhould they fall alive into the hands of their aſſailants, occaſion the moſt extraordinry exertions on both ſides. The figure of the combatants all beſmeared with black and red paint, and covered with the blood of the ſlain, their horrid yells, and ungovernable fury, are not to be conceived by thoſe who have never croſſed the Atlantic.

I have frequently been a ſpectator of them, and once bore a part in a ſimilar ſcene. But what added to the horror of it was, that I had not the conſolation

of

of being able to oppoſe their ſavage attacks. Every circumſtance of the adventure ſtill dwells on my remembrance, and enables me to deſcribe with greater perſpicuity the brutal fierceneſs of the Indians when they have ſurprized or overpowered an enemy.

As a detail of the maſſacre at Fort William Henry in the year 1757, the ſcene to which I refer, cannot appear foreign to the deſign of this publication, but will ſerve to give my readers a juſt idea of the ferocity of this people, I ſhall take the liberty to inſert it, apologizing at the ſame time for the length of the digreſſion, and thoſe egotiſms which the relation renders unavoidable.

General Webb, who commanded the Engliſh army in North America, which was then encamped at Fort Edward, having intelligence that the French troops under Monſ. Montcalm were making ſome movements towards Fort William Henry, he detached a corps of about fifteen hundred men, conſiſting of Engliſh and Provincials, to ſtrengthen the garriſon. In this party I went as a volunteer among the latter.

The

The apprehenſions of the Engliſh General were not without foundation; for the day after our arrival we ſaw Lake George (formerly Lake Sacrament) to which it lies contiguous, covered with an immenſe number of boats; and in a few hours we found our lines attacked by the French General, who had juſt landed with eleven thouſand Regulars and Canadians, and two thouſand Indians. Colonel Monro, a brave officer, commanded in the Fort, and had no more than two thouſand three hundred men with him, our detachment included.

With theſe he made a gallant defence, and probably would have been able at laſt to preſerve the Fort, had he been properly ſupported, and permitted to continue his efforts. On every ſummons to ſurrender ſent by the French General, who offered the moſt honourable terms, his anſwer repeatedly was, That he yet found himſelf in a condition to repel the moſt vigorous attacks his beſiegers were able to make; and if he thought his preſent force inſufficient, he could ſoon be ſupplied with a greater number from the adjacent army.

But

But the Colonel having acquainted General Webb with his ſituation, and deſired he would ſend him ſome freſh troops, the general diſpatched a meſſenger to him with a letter, whereing he informed him that it was not in his power to aſſiſt him, and therefore gave him orders to ſurrender up the Fort on the beſt terms he could procure. This packet fell into the hands of the French General, who immediately ſent a flag of truce, deſiring a conference with the governor.

They accordingly met, attended only by a ſmall guard, in the centre between the lines; when Monſ. Montcalm told the Colonel, that he was come in perſon to demand poſſeſſion of the Fort, as it belonged to the King his maſter. The Colonel replied, that he knew not how that could be, nor ſhould he ſurrender it up whilſt it was in his power to defend it.

The French General rejoined, at the ſame time delivering the packet into the Colonel's hand, "By this authority do "I make the requiſition." The brave Governor had no ſooner read the contents of it, and was convinced that ſuch were the orders of the commander in chief, and

not

not to be disobeyed, than he hung his head in silence, and reluctantly entered into a negociation.

In consideration of the gallant defence the garrison had made, they were to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, to be allowed covered waggons to transport their baggage to Fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the savages.

The morning after the capitulation was signed, as soon as day broke, the whole garrison, now consisting of about two thousand men, besides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about, and began to plunder. We were at first in hopes that this was their only view, and suffered them to proceed without opposition. Indeed it was not in our power to make any, had we been so inclined; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a single round of ammunition. In these hopes however we were disappointed: for presently some of them began to attack the sick and wounded, when

when ſuch as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithſtanding they endeavoured to avert the fury of their enemies by their ſhrieks or groans, were ſoon diſpatched.

Here we were fully in expectation that the diſturbance would have concluded; and our little army began to move; but in a ſhort time we ſaw the front diviſion driven back, and diſcovered that we were entirely encircled by the ſavages. We expected every moment that the guard, which the French, by the articles of capitulation, had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehenſions; but none appeared. The Indians now began to ſtrip every one without exception of their arms and cloaths, and thoſe who made the leaſt reſiſtance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

I happened to be in the rear diviſion, but it was not long before I ſhared the fate of my companions. Three or four of the ſavages laid hold of me, and whilſt ſome held their weapons over my head, the others ſoon diſrobed me of my coat, waiſtcoat, hat, and buckles, omitting not

to

to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was tranſacted cloſe by the paſſage that led from the lines on to the plain, near which a French centinel was poſted, I ran to him and claimed his protection; but he only called me an Engliſh dog, and thruſt me with violence back again into the midſt of the Indians.

I now endeavoured to join a body of our troops that were crowded together at ſome diſtance; but innumerable were the blows that were made at me with different weapons as I paſſed on; luckily however the ſavages were ſo cloſe together, that they could not ſtrike at me without endangering each other. Notwithſtanding which one of them found means to make a thruſt at me with a ſpear, which grazed my ſide, and from another I received a wound, with the ſame kind of weapon, in my ancle. At length I gained the ſpot where my countrymen ſtood, and forced myſelf into the midſt of them. But before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and wriſtbands of my ſhirt were all that remained of it, and my fleſh was ſcratched

and

and torn in many places by their ſavage gripes.

By this time the war-hoop was given, and the Indians began to murder thoſe that were neareſt to them without diſtinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid ſcene that now enſued; men, women, and children were diſpatched in the moſt wanton and cruel manner, and immediately ſcalped. Many of theſe ſavages drank the blood of their victims, as it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had ſo lately ſigned to allow us a ſufficient force to protect us from theſe inſults, they tacitly permitted them; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at ſome diſtance, diſcourſing together with apparent unconcern. For the honour of human nature I would hope that this flagrant breach of every ſacred law, proceeded rather from the ſavage diſpoſition of the Indians, which I acknowledge it is ſometimes almoſt impoſſible

to

to controul, and which might now unexpectedly have arrived to a pitch not eaſily to be reſtrained, than to any premeditated deſign in the French commander. An unprejudiced obſerver would, however, be apt to conclude, that a body of ten thouſand chriſtian troops, moſt chriſtian troops, had it in their power to prevent the maſſacre from becoming ſo general. But whatever was the cauſe from which it aroſe, the conſequences of it were dreadful, and not to be paralleled in modern hiſtory.

As the circle in which I ſtood incloſed by this time was much thinned, and death ſeemed to be approaching with haſty ſtrides, it was propoſed by ſome of the moſt reſolute to make one vigorous effort, and endeavour to force our way through the ſavages, the only probable method of preſerving our lives that now remained. This, however deſperate, was reſolved on, and about twenty of us ſprung at once into the midſt of them.

In a moment we were all ſeparated, and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till ſome months after, when I found that only ſix or ſeven of them

them effected their design. Intent only on my own hazardous situation, I endeavoured to make my way through my savage enemies in the best manner possible. And I have often been astonished since, when I have recollected with what composure I took, as I did, every necessary step for my preservation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic, and others I passed by, dextrously avoiding their weapons; till at last two very stout chiefs, of the most savage tribes, as I could distinguish by their dress, whose strength I could not resist, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

I now resigned myself to my fate, not doubting but that they intended to dispatch me, and then to satiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired swamp that lay at some distance. But before we had got many yards, an English gentleman of some distinction, as I could discover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine scarlet velvet, rushed close by us. One of

the Indians inſtantly relinquiſhed his hold, and ſpringing on this new object, endeavoured to ſeize him as his prey; but the gentleman being ſtrong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he who held my other arm, quitted me to aſſiſt his brother. I ſeized the opportunity, and haſtened away to join another party of Engliſh troops that were yet unbroken, and ſtood in a body at ſome diſtance. But before I had taken many ſteps, I haſtily caſt my eye towards the gentleman, and ſaw the Indian's tomahawk gaſh into his back, and heard him utter his laſt groan; this added both to my ſpeed and deſperation.

I had left this ſhocking ſcene but a few yards, when a fine boy about twelve years of age, that had hitherto eſcaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, ſo that he might ſtand ſome chance of getting out of the hands of the ſavages. I told him that I would give him every aſſiſtance in my power, and to this purpoſe bid him lay hold; but in a few moments he was torn from my ſide, and by his ſhrieks I judge

was ſoon demoliſhed. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute, to lament the fate of ſo young a ſufferer; but it was utterly impoſſible for me to take any methods to prevent it.

I now got once more into the midſt of friends, but we were unable to afford each other any ſuccour. As this was the diviſion that had advanced the furtheſt from the fort, I thought there might be a poſſibility (though but a very bare one) of my forcing my way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighbouring wood, which I perceived at ſome diſtance. I was ſtill encouraged to hope by the almoſt miraculous preſervation I had already experienced.

Nor were my hopes vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to ſay that I reached the wood; but by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was ſo exhauſted that I threw myſelf into a brake, and lay for ſome minutes apparently at the laſt gaſp. At length I recovered the power of reſpiration; but my apprehenſions returned with all their former force, when I ſaw ſeveral ſavages paſs by, probably in pur-

ſuit of me, at no very great diſtance. In this ſituation I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavour to conceal myſelf where I lay, till night came on; fearing, however, that they would return the ſame way, I thought it moſt prudent to get farther from the dreadful ſcene of my paſt diſtreſſes. Accordingly, ſtriking into another part of the wood, I haſtened on as faſt as the briars and the loſs of one of my ſhoes would permit me; and after a ſlow progreſs of ſome hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had juſt left, from whence I could diſcern that the bloody ſtorm ſtill raged with unabated fury.

But not to tire my readers, I ſhall only add, that after paſſing three days without ſubſiſtence, and enduring the ſeverity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached Fort Edward; where with proper care my body ſoon recovered its wonted ſtrength, and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its uſual compoſure.

It was computed that fifteen hundred perſons were killed or made priſoners by theſe

theſe ſavages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them and never returned. A few, through favourable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and ſevere captivity.

The brave Colonel Monro had haſtened away, ſoon after the confuſion began, to the French camp to endeavour to procure the guard agreed by the ſtipulation; but his application proving ineffectual, he remained there till General Webb ſent a party of troops to demand and protect him back to Fort Edward. But theſe unhappy occurrences, which would probably have been prevented, had he been left to purſue his own plans, together with the loſs of ſo many brave fellows, murdered in cold blood, to whoſe valour he had been ſo lately a witneſs, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he did not long ſurvive. He died in about three months of a broken heart, and with truth might it be ſaid, that he was an honour to his country.

I mean not to point out the following circumſtance as the immediate judgment of heaven, and intended as an atonement

for this ſlaughter; but I cannot omit that very few of thoſe different tribes of Indians that ſhared in it ever lived to return home. The ſmall pox, by means of their communication with the Europeans, found its way among them, and made an equal havock to what they themſelves had done. The methods they purſued on the firſt attack of that malignant diſorder, to abate the fever attending it, rendered it fatal. Whilſt their blood was in a ſtate of fermentation, and nature was ſtriving to throw out the peccant matter, they checked her operations by plunging into the water: the conſequence was, that they died by hundreds. The few that ſurvived were transformed by it into hideous objects, and bore with them to the grave deep indented marks of this much-dreaded diſeaſe.

Monſieur Montcalm fell ſoon after on the plains of Quebec.

That the unprovoked cruelty of this commander was not approved of by the generality of his countrymen, I have ſince been convinced of by many proofs. One only however, which I received from a perſon who was witneſs to it, ſhall

ſhall I at preſent give. A Canadian merchant, of ſome conſideration, having heard of the ſurrender of the Engliſh Fort, celebrated the fortunate event with great rejoicings and hoſpitality, according to the cuſtom of that country; but no ſooner did the news of the maſſacre which enſued reach his ears, than he put an immediate ſtop to the feſtivity, and exclaimed in the ſevereſt terms againſt the inhuman permiſſion; declaring at the ſame time that thoſe who had connived at it, had thereby drawn down on that part of their king's dominions the vengeance of heaven. To this he added, that he much feared the total loſs of them would deſervedly be the conſequence. How truly this prediction has been verified we all know.

But to return—Though the Indians are negligent in guarding againſt ſurprizes, they are alert and dextrous in ſurprizing their enemies. To their caution and perſeverance in ſtealing on the party they deſign to attack, they add that admirable talent, or rather inſtinctive qualification, I have already deſcribed, of tracing out thoſe they are in purſuit of. On

the ſmootheſt graſs, on the hardeſt earth, and even on the very ſtones, will they diſcover the traces of an enemy, and by the ſhape of the footſteps, and the diſtance between the prints, diſtinguiſh not only whether it is a man or woman who has paſſed that way, but even the nation to which they belong. However incredible this might appear, yet, from the many proofs I received whilſt among them of their amazing ſagacity in this point, I ſee no reaſon to diſcredit even theſe extraordinary exertions of it.

When they have overcome an enemy, and victory is no longer doubtful, the conquerors firſt diſpatch all ſuch as they think they ſhall not be able to carry off without great trouble, and then endeavour to take as many priſoners as poſſible; after this they return to ſcalp thoſe who are either dead, or too much wounded to be taken with them.

At this buſineſs they are exceedingly expert. They ſeize the head of the diſabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twiſt their left hand in the hair; by this means, having extended the ſkin that covers the

top

top of the head, they draw out their ſcalping knives, which are always kept in good order for this cruel purpoſe, and with a few dextrous ſtrokes take off the part that is termed the ſcalp. They are ſo expeditious in doing this, that the whole time required ſcarcely exceeds a minute. Theſe they preſerve as monuments of their proweſs, and at the ſame time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.

If two Indians ſeize in the ſame inſtant a priſoner, and ſeem to have an equal claim, the conteſt between them is ſoon decided; for to put a ſpeedy end to any diſpute that might ariſe, the perſon that is apprehenſive he ſhall loſe his expected reward, immediately has recourſe to his tomahawk or war-club, and knocks on the head the unhappy cauſe of their contention.

Having completed their purpoſes, and made as much havock as poſſible, they immediately retire towards their own country, with the ſpoil they have acquired, for fear of being purſued.

Should this be the caſe, they make uſe of many ſtratagems to elude the ſearches

of

of their purſuers. They ſometimes ſcatter leaves, ſand, or duſt over the prints of their feet; ſometimes tread in each others footſteps; and ſometimes lift their feet ſo high, and tread ſo lightly, as not to make any impreſſion on the ground. But if they find all theſe precautions unavailing, and that they are near being overtaken, they firſt diſpatch and ſcalp their priſoners, and then dividing, each endeavours to regain his native country by a different route. This prevents all farther purſuit; for their purſuers now deſpairing, either of gratifying their revenge, or of releaſing thoſe of their friends who were made captives, return home.

If the ſucceſsful party is ſo lucky as to make good their retreat unmoleſted, they haſten with the greateſt expedition to reach a country where they may be perfectly ſecure; and that their wounded companions may not retard their flight, they carry them by turns in litters, or if it is in the winter ſeaſon draw them on ſledges.

Their litters are made in a rude manner of the branches of trees. Their ſledges conſiſt

conſiſt of two ſmall thin boards about a foot wide when joined, and near ſix feet long. The fore part is turned up, and the ſides are bordered with ſmall bands. The Indians draw theſe carriages with great eaſe, be they ever ſo much loaded, by means of a ſtring which paſſes round the breaſt. This collar is called a Metump, and is in uſe throughout America, both in the ſettlements and the internal parts. Thoſe uſed in the latter are made of leather, and very curiouſly wrought.

The priſoners during their march are guarded with the greateſt care. During the day, if the journey is over land, they are always held by ſome of the victorious party; if by water, they are faſtened to the canoe. In the night-time they are ſtretched along the ground quite naked, with their legs, arms, and neck faſtened to hooks fixed in the ground. Beſides this, cords are tied to their arms or legs, which are held by an Indian, who inſtantly awakes at the leaſt motion of them.

Notwithſtanding ſuch precautions are uſually taken by the Indians, it is recorded in the annals of New England,

that

that one of the weaker ſex, almoſt alone, and unaſſiſted, found means to elude the vigilance of a party of warriors, and not only to make her eſcape from them, but to revenge the cauſe of her countrymen.

Some years ago, a ſmall band of Canadian Indians, conſiſting of ten warriors attended by two of their wives, made an irruption into the back ſettlements of New England. They lurked for ſome time in the vicinity of one of the moſt exterior towns, and at length, after having killed and ſcalped ſeveral people, found means to take priſoner a woman who had with her a ſon of about twelve years of age. Being ſatisfied with the execution they had done, they retreated towards their native country, which lay at three hundred miles diſtance, and carried off with them their two captives.

The ſecond night of their retreat, the woman, whoſe name, if I miſtake not, was Rowe, formed a reſolution worthy of the moſt intrepid hero. She thought ſhe ſhould be able to get from her hands the manacles by which they were confined, and determined if ſhe did ſo to make a deſperate effort for the recovery of her freedom.

freedom. To this purpoſe, when ſhe concluded that her conquerors were in their ſoundeſt ſleep, ſhe ſtrove to ſlip the cords from her hands. In this ſhe ſucceeded; and cautioning her ſon, whom they had ſuffered to go unbound, in a whiſper, againſt being ſurprized at what ſhe was about to do, ſhe removed to a diſtance with great warineſs the defenſive weapons of the Indians, which lay by their ſides.

Having done this, ſhe put one of the tomahawks into the hands of the boy, bidding him to follow her example; and taking another herſelf, fell upon the ſleeping Indians, ſeveral of whom ſhe inſtantly diſpatched. But her attempt was nearly fruſtrated by the imbecility of her ſon, who wanting both ſtrength and reſolution, made a feeble ſtroke at one of them, which only ſerved to awaken him; ſhe however ſprung at the riſing warrior, and before he could recover his arms, made him ſink under the weight of her tomahawk; and this ſhe alternately did to all the reſt, except one of the women, who awoke in time, and made her eſcape.

The heroine then took off the ſcalps of her vanquiſhed enemies; and ſeizing

alſo thoſe they were carrying away with them as proofs of their ſucceſs, ſhe returned in triumph to the town from whence ſhe had ſo lately been dragged, to the great aſtoniſhment of her neighbours, who could ſcarcely credit their ſenſes, or the teſtimonies ſhe bore of her Amazonian intrepidity.

During their march they oblige their priſoners to ſing their death-ſong, which generally conſiſts of theſe or ſimilar ſentences: "I am going to die, I am about "to ſuffer; but I will bear the ſevereſt "tortures my enemies can inflict with be-"coming fortitude. I will die like a "brave man, and I ſhall then go to join "the chiefs that have ſuffered on the ſame "account." Theſe ſongs are continued with neceſſary intervals, until they reach the village or camp to which they are going.

When the warriors are arrived within hearing, they ſet up different cries, which communicates to their friends a general hiſtory of the ſucceſs of the expedition. The number of the death-cries they give, declares how many of their own party are loſt; the number of war-hoops, the number of priſoners they have taken.

It

It is difficult to deſcribe theſe cries, but the beſt idea I can convey of them is, that the former conſiſts of the ſound Whoo, Whoo, Whoop, which is continued in a long ſhrill tone, nearly till the breath is exhauſted, and then broken off with a ſudden elevation of the voice. The latter of a loud cry, of much the ſame kind, which is modulated into notes by the hand being placed before the mouth. Both of them might be heard to a very conſiderable diſtance.

Whilſt theſe are uttering, the perſons to whom they are deſigned to convey the intelligence, continue motionleſs and all attention. When this ceremony is performed, the whole village iſſue out to learn the particulars of the relation they have juſt heard in general terms, and according as the news prove mournful or the contrary, they anſwer by ſo many acclamations or cries of lamentation.

Being by this time arrived at the village or camp, the women and children arm themſelves with ſticks and bludgeons, and form themſelves into two ranks, through which the priſoners are obliged to paſs. The treatment they undergo before they reach

reach the extremity of the line, is very ſevere. Sometimes they are ſo beaten over the head and face, as to have ſcarcely any remains of life; and happy would it be for them if by this uſage an end was put to their wretched beings. But their tormentors take care that none of the blows they give prove mortal, as they wiſh to reſerve the miſerable ſufferers for more ſevere inflictions.

After having undergone this introductory diſcipline, they are bound hand and foot, whilſt the chiefs hold a council in which their fate is determined. Thoſe who are decreed to be put to death by the uſual torments, are delivered to the chief of the warriors; ſuch as are to be ſpared, are given into the hands of the chief of the nation: ſo that in a ſhort time all the priſoners may be aſſured of their fate, as the ſentence now pronounced is irrevocable. The former they term being conſigned to the houſe of death, the latter to the houſe of grace.

Such captives as are pretty far advanced in life, and have acquired great honour by their warlike deeds, always atone for the blood they have ſpilt by the tortures

tortures of fire. Their ſucceſs in war is readily known by the blue marks upon their breaſts and arms, which are as legible to the Indians as letters are to Europeans.

The manner in which theſe hieroglyphicks are made, is by breaking the ſkin with the teeth of fiſh, or ſharpened flints, dipped in a kind of ink made of the ſoot of pitch pine. Like thoſe of the ancient Picts of Britain theſe are eſteemed ornamental; and at the ſame time they ſerve as regiſters of the heroic actions of the warrior, who thus bears about him indelible marks of his valour.

The priſoners deſtined to death are ſoon led to the place of execution, which is generally in the centre of the camp or village; where, being ſtript, and every part of their bodies blackened, the ſkin of a crow or raven is fixed on their heads. They are then bound to a ſtake, with faggots heaped around them, and obliged for the laſt time to ſing their death-ſong.

The warriors, for ſuch it is only who commonly ſuffer this puniſhment, now perform in a more prolix manner this ſad

ſolemnity. They recount with an audible voice all the brave actions they have performed, and pride themſelves in the number of enemies they have killed. In this rehearſal they ſpare not even their tormentors, but ſtrive by every provoking tale they can invent to irritate and inſult them. Sometimes this has the deſired effect, and the ſufferers are diſpatched ſooner than they otherwiſe would have been.

There are many other methods which the Indians make uſe of to put their priſoners to death, but theſe are only occaſional; that of burning is moſt generally uſed.

Whilſt I was at the chief town of the Ottagaumies, an Illinois Indian was brought in, who had been made priſoner by one of their war parties. I had then an opportunity of ſeeing the cuſtomary cruelties inflicted by theſe people on their captives, through the minuteſt part of their proceſs. After the previous ſteps neceſſary to his condemnation, he was carried, early in the morning, to a little diſtance from the town, where he was bound to a tree.

This

This being done, all the boys, who amounted to a great number, as the place was populous, were permitted to amuſe themſelves with ſhooting their arrows at the unhappy victim. As they were none of them more than twelve years old, and were placed at a conſiderable diſtance, they had not ſtrength to penetrate to the vital parts, ſo that the poor wretch ſtood pierced with arrows, and ſuffering the conſequent agonies, for more than two days.

During this time he ſung his warlike exploits. He recapitulated every ſtratagem he had made uſe of to ſurprize his enemies: he boaſted of the quantity of ſcalps he poſſeſſed, and enumerated the priſoners he had taken. He then deſcribed the different barbarous methods by which he had put the latter to death, and ſeemed even then to receive inconceivable pleaſure from the recital of the horrid tale.

But he dwelt more particularly on the cruelties he had practiſed on ſuch of the kindred of his preſent tormentors as had fallen into his hands; endeavouring by theſe aggravated inſults to induce

them to increaſe his tortures, that he might be able to give greater proofs of fortitude. Even in the laſt ſtruggles of life, when he was no longer able to vent in words the indignant provocation his tongue would have uttered, a ſmile of mingled ſcorn and triumph ſat on his countenance.

This method of tormenting their enemies is conſidered by the Indians as productive of more than one beneficial conſequence. It ſatiates, in a greater degree, that diabolical luſt of revenge, which is the predominant paſſion in the breaſt of every individual of every tribe, and it gives the growing warriors an early propenſity to that cruelty and thirſt for blood, which is ſo neceſſary a qualification for ſuch as would be thoroughly ſkilled in their ſavage art of war.

I have been informed, that an Indian who was under the hands of his tormentors, had the audacity to tell them, that they were ignorant old women, and did not know how to put brave priſoners to death. He acquainted them that he had heretofore taken ſome of their warriors, and inſtead of the trivial puniſhments they

they inflicted on him, he had deviſed for them the moſt excruciating torments: that having bound them to a ſtake, he had ſtuck their bodies full of ſharp ſplinters of turpentine wood, to which he then ſet fire, and dancing around them enjoyed the agonizing pangs of the flaming victims.

This bravado, which carried with it a degree of inſult that even the accuſtomed ear of an Indian could not liſten to unmoved, threw his tormentors off their guard, and ſhortened the duration of his torments; for one of the chiefs ran to him, and ripping out his heart, ſtopped with it the mouth from which had iſſued ſuch provoking language.

Innumerable are the ſtories that may be told of the courage and reſolution of the Indians, who happen to be made priſoners by their adverſaries. Many that I have heard are ſo aſtoniſhing, that they ſeem to exceed the utmoſt limits of credibility; it is, however, certain that theſe ſavages are poſſeſſed with many heroic qualities, and bear every ſpecies of miſfortune with a degree of fortitude which

has not been outdone by any of the ancient heroes of either Greece or Rome.

Notwithſtanding theſe acts of ſeverity exerciſed by the Indians towards thoſe of their own ſpecies who fall into their hands, ſome tribes of them have been remarked for their moderation to ſuch female priſoners belonging to the Engliſh colonies as have happened to be taken by them. Women of great beauty have frequently been carried off by them, and during a march of three or four hundred miles through their retired foreſts, have lain by their ſides without receiving any inſult, and their chaſtity has remained inviolate. Inſtances have happened where female captives, who have been pregnant at the time of their being taken, have found the pangs of child-birth come upon them in the midſt of ſolitary woods, and ſavages their only companions; yet from theſe, ſavages as they were, have they received every aſſiſtance their ſituation would admit of, and been treated with a degree of delicacy and humanity they little expected.

This forbearance, it muſt be acknowledged,

ledged, does not proceed altogether from their diſpoſitions, but is only inherent in thoſe who have held ſome communication with the French miſſionaries. Without intending that their natural enemies the Engliſh ſhould enjoy the benefit of their labours, theſe fathers have taken great pains to inculcate on the minds of the Indians the general principles of humanity, which has diffuſed itſelf through their manners, and has proved of public utility.

Thoſe priſoners that are conſigned to the houſe of grace, and theſe are commonly the young men, women, and children, await the diſpoſal of the chiefs, who, after the execution of ſuch as are condemned to die, hold a council for this purpoſe.

A herald is ſent round the village or camp, to give notice that ſuch as have loſt any relation in the late expedition are deſired to attend the diſtribution which is about to take place. Thoſe women who have loſt their ſons or huſbands are generally ſatisfied in the firſt place; after theſe, ſuch as have been deprived of friends of a more remote degree of conſanguinity, or who chooſe to adopt ſome of the youth.

The diviſion being made, which is done, as in other caſes, without the leaſt diſpute, thoſe who have received any ſhare lead them to their tents or huts; and having unbound them, waſh and dreſs their wounds if they happen to have received any; they then cloath them, and give them the moſt comfortable and refreſhing food their ſtore will afford.

Whilſt their new domeſticks are feeding, they endeavour to adminiſter conſolation to them; they tell them that as they are redeemed from death, they muſt now be cheerful and happy; and if they ſerve them well, without murmuring or repining, nothing ſhall be wanting to make them ſuch atonement for the loſs of their country and friends as circumſtances will allow of.

If any men are ſpared, they are commonly given to the widows that have loſt their huſbands by the hand of the enemy, ſhould there be any ſuch, to whom, if they happen to prove agreeable, they are ſoon married. But ſhould the dame be otherwiſe engaged, the life of him who falls to her lot is in great danger; eſpecially if ſhe fancies that her late huſband

wants

wants a ſlave in the country of ſpirits to which he is gone.

When this is the caſe, a number of young men take the devoted captive to ſome diſtance, and diſpatch him without any ceremony: after he has been ſpared by the council, they conſider him of too little conſequence to be intitled to the torments allotted to thoſe who have been judged worthy of them.

The women are uſually diſtributed to the men, from whom they do not fail of meeting with a favourable reception. The boys and girls are taken into the families of ſuch as have need of them, and are conſidered as ſlaves; and it is not uncommon that they are ſold in the ſame capacity to the European traders who come among them.

The Indians have no idea of moderating the ravages of war, by ſparing their priſoners, and entering into a negotiation with the band from whom they have been taken, for an exchange. All that are captivated by both parties, are either put to death, adopted, or made ſlaves of. And ſo particular are every nation in this reſpect, that if any of their tribe,

even

even a warrior, ſhould be taken priſoner, and by chance be received into the houſe of grace, either as an adopted perſon or a ſlave, and ſhould afterwards make his eſcape, they will by no means receive him, or acknowledge him as one of their band.

The condition of ſuch as are adopted differs not in any one inſtance from the children of the nation to which they now belong. They aſſume all the rights of thoſe whoſe places they ſupply, and frequently make no difficulty of going in the war-parties againſt their own countrymen. Should, however, any of theſe by chance make their eſcape, and be afterwards retaken, they are eſteemed as unnatural children and ungrateful perſons, who have deſerted and made war upon their parents and benefactors, and are treated with uncommon ſeverity.

That part of the priſoners which are conſidered as ſlaves, are generally diſtributed among the chiefs; who frequently make preſents of ſome of them to the European governors of the out-poſts, or to the ſuperintendants or commiſſaries of Indian affairs. I have been informed that it

was

was the Jeſuits and French miſſionaries that firſt occaſioned the introduction of theſe unhappy captives into the ſettlements, and who by ſo doing taught the Indians that they were valuable.

Their views indeed were laudable, as they imagined that by this method they ſhould not only prevent much barbarity and bloodſhed, but find the opportunities of ſpreading their religion among them increaſed. To this purpoſe they encouraged the treaders to purchaſe ſuch ſlaves as they met with.

The good effects of this mode of proceeding was not however equal to the expectations of theſe pious fathers. Inſtead of being the means of preventing cruelty and bloodſhed, it only cauſed the diſſenſions between the Indian nations to be carried on with a greater degree of violence, and with unremitted ardour. The prize they fought for being no longer revenge or fame, but the acquirement of ſpirituous liquors, for which their captives were to be exchanged, and of which almoſt every nation is immoderately fond, they ſought for their enemies with unwonted

alacrity,

alacrity, and were conſtantly on the watch to ſurprize and carry them off.

It might ſtill be ſaid that fewer of the captives are tormented and put to death, ſince theſe expectations of receiving ſo valuable a conſideration for them have been excited than there uſually had been; but it does not appear that their accuſtomed cruelty to the warriors they take, is in the leaſt abated; their natural deſire of vengeance muſt be gratified; they now only become more aſſiduous in ſecuring a greater number of young priſoners, whilſt thoſe who are made captive in their defence are tormented and put to death as before.

The miſſionaries finding that contrary to their wiſhes their zeal had only ſerved to increaſe the ſale of the noxious juices, applied to the Governor of Canada in the year 1693, for a prohibition of this baneful trade. An order was iſſued accordingly, but it could not put a total ſtop to it; the French Couriers de Boïs were hardy enough to carry it on clandeſtinely, notwithſtanding the penalty annexed to a breach of the prohibition was a conſiderable fine and impriſonment.

Some

Some who were detected in the profecution of it withdrew into the Indian countries, where they intermarried with the natives and underwent a voluntary baniſhment. Theſe, however, being an abandoned and debauched ſet, their conduct contributed very little either towards reforming the manners of their new relations, or engaging them to entertain a favourable opinion of the religion they profeſſed. Thus did theſe indefatigable religious men ſee their deſigns in ſome meaſure once more fruſtrated.

However, the emigration was productive of an effect which turned out to be beneficial to their nation. By the connection of theſe refugees with the Iroquois, Miſſiſſuages, Hurons, Miamies, Powtowottomies, Puants, Menomonies, Algonkins, &c. and the conſtant repreſentations theſe various nations received from them of the power and grandeur of the French, to the aggrandizement of whoſe monarch, notwithſtanding their baniſhment, they ſtill retained their habitual inclination, the Indians became inſenſibly prejudiced in favour of that people, and I am perſuaded

take every opportunity of ſhewing their attachment to them.

And this, even in deſpite of the diſgraceful eſtimation they muſt be held by them, ſince they have been driven out of Canada; for the Indians conſider every conquered people as in a ſtate of vaſſalage to their conquerors. After one nation has finally ſubdued another, and a conditional ſubmiſſion is agreed on, it is cuſtomary for the chiefs of the conquered, when they ſit in council with their ſubduers, to wear petticoats, as an acknowledgment that they are in a ſtate of ſubjection, and ought to be ranked among the women. Their partiality to the French has however taken too deep root for time itſelf to eradicate it.

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

Of their Manner of making PEACE, *&c.*

THE wars that are carried on between the Indian nations are in general hereditary, and continue from age to age with a few interruptions. If a peace becomes neceſſary, the principal care of both parties is to avoid the appearance of making the firſt advances.

When they treat with an enemy, relative to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, the chief who is commiſſioned to undertake the negociation, if it is not brought about by the mediation of ſome neighbouring band, abates nothing of his natural haughtineſs: even when the affairs of his country are in the worſt ſituation, he makes no conceſſions, but endeavours to perſuade his adverſaries that it is their intereſt to put an end to the war.

Accidents ſometimes contribute to bring about a peace between nations that otherwiſe could not be prevailed on to liſten to terms of accommodation. An

inſtance of this, which I heard of in almoſt every nation I paſſed through, I ſhall relate.

About eighty years ago, the Iroquois and Chipéways, two powerful nations, were at war with the Ottagaumies and Saukies, who were much inferior to their adverſaries both in numbers and ſtrength. One winter near a thouſand of the former made an excurſion from Lake Ontatario, by way of Toronto, towards the territories of their enemies. They coaſted Lake Huron on its eaſt and northern borders, till they arrived at the iſland of St. Joſeph, which is ſituated in the Straights of St. Marie. There they croſſed theſe Straights upon the ice about fifteen miles below the falls, and continued their route ſtill weſtward. As the ground was covered with ſnow, to prevent a diſcovery of their numbers, they marched in a ſingle file, treading in each others footſteps.

Four Chipéway Indians, paſſing that way, obſerved this army, and readily gueſſed from the direction of their march, and the precautions they took, both the country

country to which they were haſtening, and their deſigns.

Notwithſtanding the nation to which they belonged was at war with the Ottagaumies, and in alliance with their invaders, yet from a principle which cannot be accounted for, they took an inſtant reſolution to apprize the former of their danger. To this purpoſe they haſtened away with their uſual celerity, and, taking a circuit to avoid diſcovery, arrived at the hunting grounds of the Ottagaumies, before ſo large a body, moving in ſo cautious a manner, could do. There they found a party of about four hundred warriors, ſome of which were Saukies, whom they informed of the approach of their enemies.

The chiefs immediately collected their whole force, and held a council on the ſteps that were to be taken for their defence. As they were encumbered with their families, it was impoſſibe that they could retreat in time; they therefore determined to chuſe the moſt advantageous ſpot, and to give the Iroquois the beſt reception in their power.

Not far from the place where they then happened to be, ſtood two ſmall lakes, between which ran a narrow neck of land about a mile in length, and only from twenty to forty yards in breadth. Concluding that the Iroquois intended to paſs though this defile, the united bands divided their little party into two bodies of two hundred each. One of theſe took poſt at the extremity of the paſs that lay neareſt to their hunting grounds, which they immediately fortified with a breaſt-work formed of paliſades; whilſt the other body took a compaſs round one of the lakes, with a deſign to hem their enemies in when they had entered the defile.

Their ſtratagem ſucceeded; for no ſooner had the whole of the Iroquois entered the paſs, than, being provided with wood for the purpoſe, they formed a ſimilar breaſt-work on the other extremity, and thus encloſed their enemies.

The Iroquois ſoon perceived their ſituation, and immediately held a council on the meaſures that were neceſſary to be purſued to extricate themſelves. Unluckily for them a thaw had juſt taken place,

which had ſo far diſſolved the ice as to render it impaſſible, and yet there ſtill remained ſufficient to prevent them from either paſſing over the lakes on rafts, or from ſwimming acroſs. In this dilemma it was agreed that they ſhould endeavour to force one of the breaſt-works; but they ſoon found them too well defended to effect their purpoſe.

Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, with the uſual compoſure and unapprehenſiveneſs of Indians, they amuſed themſelves three or four days in fiſhing. By this time the ice being quite diſſolved, they made themſelves rafts, which they were enabled to do by ſome trees that fortunately grew on the ſpot, and attempted to croſs one of the lakes.

They accordingly ſet off before day-break; but the Ottagaumies, who had been watchful of their motions, perceiving their deſign, detached one hundred and fifty men from each of their parties, to oppoſe their landing. Theſe three hundred marched ſo expeditiouſly to the other ſide of the lake, that they reached it before their opponents had gained the ſhore,

they being retarded by their poles ſticking in the mud.

As ſoon as the confederates arrived, they poured in a very heavy fire, both from their bows and muſquetry, on the Iroquois, which greatly diſconcerted them; till the latter finding their ſituation deſperate, leaped into the water, and fought their way through their enemies. This however they could not do without loſing more than half their men.

After the Iroquois had landed, they made good their retreat, but were obliged to leave their enemies maſters of the field, and in poſſeſſion of all the furs they had taken during their winter's hunt. Thus dearly did they pay for an unprovoked excurſion to ſuch diſtance from the route they ought to have purſued, and to which they were only impelled by a ſudden deſire of cutting off ſome of their ancient enemies.

But had they known their ſtrength they might have deſtroyed every man of the party that oppoſed them; which even at the firſt onſet was only inconſiderable, and, when diminiſhed by the action,

action, totally unable to make any ſtand againſt them.

The victorious bands rewarded the Chipéways, who had been the means of their ſucceſs, with a ſhare of the ſpoils. They preſſed them to take any quantity they choſe of the richeſt of the furs, and ſent them under an eſcort of fifty men, to their own country. The diſintereſted Chipéways, as the Indians in general are ſeldom actuated by mercenary motives, for a conſiderable time refuſed theſe preſents, but were at length perſuaded to accept of them.

The brave and well-concerted reſiſtance here made by the Ottagaumies and Saukies, aided by the mediation of the Chipéways, who laying aſide on this occaſion the animoſity they had ſo long borne thoſe people approved of the generous conduct of their four chiefs, were together the means of effecting a reconciliation between theſe nations; and in proceſs of time united them all in the bands of amity.

And I believe that all the Indians inhabiting that extenſive country, which lies between Quebec, the banks of the

Miſſiſſippi north of the Ouiſconſin, and the ſettlements belonging to the Hudſon's Bay Company, are at preſent in a ſtate of profound peace. When their reſtleſs diſpoſitions will not ſuffer them to remain inactive, theſe northern Indians ſeldom commit hoſtilities on each other, but make excurſions to the ſouthward, againſt the Cherokees, Choctahs, Chickaſaws or Illinois.

Sometimes the Indians grow tired of a war which they have carried on againſt ſome neighbouring nation for many years without much ſucceſs, and in this caſe they ſeek for mediators to begin a negotiation. Theſe being obtained, the treaty is thus conducted.

A number of their own chiefs, joined by thoſe who have accepted the friendly office, ſet out together for the country of their enemies; ſuch as are choſen for this purpoſe, are chiefs of the moſt extenſive abilities and of the greateſt integrity. They bear before them the Pipe of Peace, which I need not inform my readers is of the ſame nature as a Flag of Truce among the Europeans, and is treated with the greateſt reſpect and veneration,

ration, even by the moſt barbarous nations. I never heard of an inſtance wherein the bearers of this ſacred badge of friendſhip were ever treated diſreſpectfully, or its rights violated. The Indians believe that the Great Spirit never ſuffers an infraction of this kind to go unpuniſhed.

The Pipe of Peace, which is termed by the French the Calumet, for what reaſon I could never learn, is about four feet long. The bowl of it is made of red marble, and the ſtem of it of a light wood, curiouſly painted with hieroglyphicks in various colours, and adorned with the feathers of the moſt beautiful birds. I have endeavoured to give as exact a repreſentation of it as poſſible in Plate N° IV; but it is not in my power to convey an idea of the various tints and pleaſing ornaments of this much eſteemed Indian implement.

Every nation has a different method of decorating theſe pipes, and they can tell at firſt ſight to what band it belongs. It is uſed as an introduction to all treaties, and great ceremony attends the uſe of it on theſe occaſions.

The aſſiſtant or aid-du-camp of the great warrior, when the chiefs are aſſembled and ſeated, fills it with tobacco mixed with the herbs before mentioned, taking care at the ſame time that no part of it touches the ground. When it is filled, he takes a coal that is thoroughly kindled from a fire which is generally kept burning in the midſt of the aſſembly, and places it on the tobacco.

As ſoon as it is ſufficiently lighted, he throws off the coal. He then turns the ſtem of it towards the heavens, after this towards the earth, and now holding it horizontally moves himſelf round till he has completed a circle: by the firſt action he is ſuppoſed to preſent it to the Great Spirit, whoſe aid is thereby ſupplicated; by the ſecond, to avert any malicious interpoſition of the evil ſpirits; and by the third to gain the protection of the ſpirits inhabiting the air, the earth, and the waters. Having thus ſecured the favour of thoſe inviſible agents, in whoſe power they ſuppoſe it is either to forward or obſtruct the iſſue of their preſent deliberations, he preſents it to the hereditary chief, who having taken two or three whiffs,

whiffs, blows the ſmoak from his mouth firſt towards heaven, and then around him upon the ground.

It is afterwards put in the ſame manner into the mouths of the ambaſſadors or ſtrangers, who obſerve the ſame ceremony; then to the chief of the warriors, and to all the other chiefs in turn according to their gradation. During this time the perſon who executes this honourable office holds the pipe ſlightly in his hand, as if he feared to preſs the ſacred inſtrument; nor does any one preſume to touch it but with his lips.

When the chiefs who are intruſted with the commiſſion for making peace, approach the town or camp to which they are going, they begin to ſing and dance the ſongs and dances appropriated to this occaſion. By this time the adverſe party are apprized of their arrival, and diveſting themſelves of their wonted enmity at the ſight of the Pipe of Peace, invite them to the habitation of the Great Chief, and furniſh them with every conveniency during the negociation.

A council is then held; and when the ſpeeches and debates are ended, if no obſtructions

ſtructions ariſe to put a ſtop to the treaty, the painted hatchet is buried in the ground as a memorial that all animoſities between the contending nations have ceaſed, and a peace taken place. Among the ruder bands, ſuch as have no communication with the Europeans, a war-club painted red is buried inſtead of the hatchet.

A belt of wampum is alſo given on this occaſion, which ſerves as a ratification of the peace, and records to the lateſt poſterity, by the hieroglyphicks into which the beads are formed, every ſtipulated article in the treaty.

Theſe belts are made of ſhells found on the coaſts of New England and Virginia, which are ſawed out into beads of an oblong form, about a quarter of an inch long, and round like other beads. Being ſtrung on leather ſtrings, and ſeveral of them ſewed neatly together with fine ſinewy threads, they then compoſe what is termed a belt of Wampum.

The ſhells are generally of two colours, ſome white and others violet; but the latter are more highly eſteemed than the former. They are held in as much eſtimation

eſtimation by the Indians, as gold, ſilver, or precious ſtones are by the Europeans.

The belts are compoſed of ten, twelve, or a greater number of ſtrings, according to the importance of the affair in agitation, or the dignity of the perſon to whom it is preſented. On more trifling occaſions, ſtrings of theſe beads are preſented by the chiefs to each other, and frequently worn by them about their necks, as a valuable ornament.

CHAPTER XI.

Of their GAMES.

AS I have before obſerved, the Indians are greatly addicted to gaming, and will even ſtake, and loſe with compoſure, all the valuables they are poſſeſſed of. They amuſe themſelves at ſeveral ſorts of games, but the principal and moſt eſteemed among them is that of the ball, which is not unlike the European game of tennis.

The

The balls they uſe are rather larger than thoſe made uſe of at tennis, and are formed of a piece of deer-ſkin; which being moiſtened to render it ſupple, is ſtuffed hard with the hair of the ſame creature, and ſewed with its ſinews. The ball-ſticks are about three feet long, at the end of which there is fixed a kind of racket, reſembling the palm of the hand, and faſhioned of thongs cut from a deer-ſkin. In theſe they catch the ball, and throw it to a great diſtance, if they are not prevented by ſome of the oppoſite party, who fly to intercept it.

This game is generally played by large companies, that ſometimes conſiſt of more than three hundred; and it is not uncommon for different bands to play againſt each other.

They begin by fixing two poles in the ground at about ſix hundred yards apart, and one of theſe goals belong to each party of the combatants. The ball is thrown up high in the centre of the ground, and in a direct line between the goals; towards which each party endeavours to ſtrike it, and which ever ſide firſt

cauſes

cauſes it to reach their own goal, reckons towards the game.

They are ſo exceeding dextrous in this manly exerciſe, that the ball is uſually kept flying in different directions by the force of the rackets, without touching the ground during the whole contention; for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. They run with amazing velocity in purſuit of each other, and when one is on the point of hurling it to a great diſtance, an antagoniſt overtakes him, and by a ſudden ſtroke daſhes down the ball.

They play with ſo much vehemence that they frequently wound each other, and ſometimes a bone is broken; but notwithſtanding theſe accidents there never appears to be any ſpite or wanton exertions of ſtrength to effect them, nor do any diſputes ever happen between the parties.

There is another game alſo in uſe among them worthy of remark, and this is the game of the Bowl or Platter. This game is played between two perſons only. Each perſon has ſix or eight little bones not unlike a peach-ſtone either in ſize or ſhape, except that they are

qua-

quadrangular; two of the ſides of which are coloured black, and the others white. Theſe they throw up into the air, from whence they fall into a bowl or platter placed underneath, and made to ſpin round.

According as theſe bones preſent the white or black ſide upwards they reckon the game: he that happens to have the greateſt number turn up of a ſimilar colour, counts five points; and forty is the game.

The winning party keeps his place, and the loſer yields his to another who is appointed by one of the umpires; for a whole village is ſometimes concerned in the party, and at times one band plays againſt another.

During this play the Indians appear to be greatly agitated, and at every deciſive throw ſet up a hideous ſhout. They make a thouſand contortions, addreſſing themſelves at the ſame time to the bones, and loading with imprecations the evil ſpirits that aſſiſt their ſucceſsful antagoniſts. At this game ſome will loſe their apparel, all the moveables of their cabins, and ſometimes even their liberty,

not-

notwithſtanding there are no people in the univerſe more jealous of the latter than the Indians are.

CHAPTER XII.

Of their MARRIAGE CEREMONIES, *&c.*

THE Indians allow of polygamy, and perſons of every rank indulge themſelves in this point. The chiefs in particular have a ſeraglio, which conſiſts of an uncertain number, uſually from ſix to twelve or fourteen. The lower ranks are permitted to take as many as there is a probability of their being able, with the children they may bear, to maintain. It is not uncommon for an Indian to marry two ſiſters; ſometimes, if there happen to be more, the whole number; and notwithſtanding this (as it appears to civilized nations) unnatural union, they all live in the greateſt harmony.

The younger wives are ſubmiſſive to the elder; and thoſe who have no children, do ſuch menial offices for thoſe who are fertile, as cauſes their ſituation

to

to differ but little from a ſtate of ſervitude. However they perform every injunction with the greateſt cheerfulneſs, in hopes of gaining thereby the affection of their huſband, that they in their turns may have the happineſs of becoming mothers, and be intitled to the reſpect attendant on that ſtate.

It is not uncommon for an Indian, although he takes to himſelf ſo many wives, to live in a ſtate of continence with many of them for ſeveral years. Such as are not ſo fortunate as to gain the favour of their huſband by their ſubmiſſive and prudent behaviour, and by that means to ſhare in his embraces, continue in their virgin ſtate during the whole of their lives, except they happen to be preſented by him to ſome ſtranger chief, whoſe abode among them will not admit of his entering into a more laſting connection. In this caſe they ſubmit to the injunction of their huſband without murmuring, and are not diſpleaſed at the temporary union. But if at any time it is known that they take this liberty without firſt receiving his conſent, they are

puniſhed in the ſame manner as if they had been guilty of adultery.

This cuſtom is more prevalent among the nations which lie in the interior parts, than among thoſe that are nearer the ſettlements, as the manners of the latter are rendered more conformable in ſome points to thoſe of the Europeans, by the intercourſe they hold with them.

The Indian nations differ but little from each other in their marriage ceremonies, and leſs in the manner of their divorces. The tribes that inhabit the borders of Canada, make uſe of the following cuſtom.

When a young Indian has fixed his inclinations on one of the other ſex, he endeavours to gain her conſent, and if he ſucceeds, it is never known that her parents ever obſtruct their union. When every preliminary is agreed on, and the day appointed, the friends and acquaintance of both parties aſſemble at the houſe or tent of the oldeſt relation of the bridegroom, where a feaſt is prepared on the occaſion.

The company who meet to aſſiſt at the feſtival are ſometimes very numerous;

they dance, they ſing, and enter into every other diverſion uſually made uſe of on any of their public rejoicings. When theſe are finiſhed, all thoſe who attended merely out of ceremony depart, and the bridegroom and bride are left alone with three or four of the neareſt and oldeſt relations of either ſide; thoſe of the bridegroom being men, thoſe of the bride, women.

Preſently the bride, attended by theſe few friends, having withdrawn herſelf for the purpoſe, appears at one of the doors of the houſe, and is led to the bridegroom, who ſtands ready to receive her. Having now taken their ſtation on a mat placed in the centre of the room, they lay hold of the extremities of a wand about four feet long, by which they continue ſeparated, whilſt the old men pronounce ſome ſhort harangues ſuitable to the occaſion.

The married couple after this make a public declaration of the love and regard they entertain for each other, and ſtill holding the rod between them, dance and ſing. When they have finiſhed this part of the ceremony, they break the rod into as many pieces as there are witneſſes preſent,

ſent, who each take a piece, and preſerve it with great care.

The bride is then re-conducted out of the door at which ſhe entered, where her young companions wait to attend her to her father's houſe; there the bride-groom is obliged to ſeek her, and the marriage is conſummated. Very often the wife remains at her father's houſe till ſhe has a child, when ſhe packs up her apparel, which is all the fortune ſhe is generally poſſeſſed of, and accompanies her huſband to his habitation.

When from any diſlike a ſeparation takes place, for they are ſeldom known to quarrel, they generally give their friends a few days notice of their intentions, and ſometimes offer reaſons to juſtify their conduct. The witneſſes who were preſent at the marriage, meet on the day requeſted at the houſe of the couple that are about to ſeparate, and bringing with them the pieces of rod which they had received at their nuptials, throw them into the fire in the preſence of all the parties.

This is the whole of the ceremony required, and the ſeparation is carried on without any murmurings or ill-will be-

tween the couple or their relations; and after a few months they are at liberty to marry again.

When a marriage is thus diſſolved, the children which have been produced from it, are equally divided between them; and as children are eſteemed a treaſure by the Indians, if the number happens to be odd, the woman is allowed to take the better half.

Though this cuſtom ſeems to encourage fickleneſs and frequent ſeparations, yet there are many of the Indians who have but one wife, and enjoy with her a ſtate of connubial happineſs not to be exceeded in more refined ſocieties. There are alſo not a few inſtances of women preſerving an inviolable attachment to their huſbands, except in the caſes before-mentioned, which are not conſidered as either a violation of their chaſtity or fidelity.

Although I have ſaid that the Indian nations differ very little from each other in their marriage ceremonies, there are ſome exceptions. The Naudoweſſies have a ſingular method of celebrating their marriages, which ſeems to bear no reſemblance to thoſe made uſe of by any other nation

nation I paſſed through. When one of their young men has fixed on a young woman he approves of, he diſcovers his paſſion to her parents, who give him an invitation to come and live with them in their tent.

He accordingly accepts the offer, and by ſo doing engages to reſide in it for a whole year, in the character of a menial ſervant. During this time he hunts, and brings all the game he kills to the family; by which means the father has an opportunity of ſeeing whether he is able to provide for the ſupport of his daughter and the children that might be the conſequence of their union. This however is only done whilſt they are young men, and for their firſt wife, and not repeated like Jacob's ſervitudes.

When this period is expired, the marriage is ſolemnized after the cuſtom of the country, in the following manner: Three or four of the oldeſt male relations of the bridegroom, and as many of the bride's, accompany the young couple from their reſpective tents to an open part in the centre of the camp.

The chiefs and warriors being here aſſembled to receive them, a party of the latter are drawn up in two ranks on each ſide of the bride and bridegroom immediately on their arrival. The principal chief then acquaints the whole aſſembly with the deſign of their meeting, and tells them that the couple before them, mentioning at the ſame time their names, are come to avow publicly their intentions of living together as man and wife. He then aſks the two young people alternately, whether they deſire that the union might take place. Having declared with an audible voice that they do ſo, the warriors fix their arrows, and diſcharge them over the heads of the married pair; this done, the chief pronounces them man and wife.

The bridegroom then turns round, and bending his body, takes his wife on his back, in which manner he carries her amidſt the acclamations of the ſpectators to his tent. This ceremony is ſucceeded by the moſt plentiful feaſt the new married man can afford, and ſongs and dances, according to the uſual cuſtom, conclude the feſtival.

Divorces

Divorces happen ſo ſeldom among the Naudoweſſies, that I had not an opportunity of learning how they are accompliſhed.

Adultery is eſteemed by them a heinous crime, and puniſhed with the greateſt rigour. The huſband in theſe caſes bites off the wife's noſe, and a ſeparation inſtantly enſues. I ſaw an inſtance wherein this mode of puniſhment was inflicted, whilſt I remained among them. The children, when this happens, are diſtributed according to the uſual cuſtom obſerved by other nations, that is, they are equally divided.

Among the Indian as well as European nations, there are many that devote themſelves to pleaſure, and notwithſtanding the accounts given by ſome modern writers of the frigidity of an Indian conſtitution, become the zealous votaries of Venus. The young warriors that are thus diſpoſed, ſeldom want opportunities for gratifying their paſſion; and as the mode uſually followed on theſe occaſions is rather ſingular, I ſhall deſcribe it.

When one of theſe young debauchees imagines from the behaviour of the per-

ſon he has choſen for his miſtreſs, that he ſhall not meet with any great obſtruction to his ſuit from her, he purſues the following plan.

It has been already obſerved, that the Indians acknowledge no ſuperiority, nor have they any ideas of ſubordination, except in the neceſſary regulations of their war or hunting parties; they conſequently live nearly in a ſtate of equality purſuant to the firſt principles of nature. The lover therefore is not apprehenſive of any check or controul in the accompliſhment of his purpoſes if he can find a convenient opportunity for completing them.

As the Indians are alſo under no apprehenſion of robbers, or ſecret enemies, they leave the doors of their tents or huts unfaſtened during the night, as well as in the day. Two or three hours after ſunſet, the ſlaves or old people cover over the fire, that is generally burning in the midſt of their apartment, with aſhes, and retire to their repoſe.

Whilſt darkneſs thus prevails, and all is quiet, one of theſe ſons of pleaſure, wrapped up cloſely in his blanket to prevent his being known, will ſometimes enter

enter the apartment of his intended miſtreſs. Having firſt lighted at the ſmothered fire a ſmall ſplinter of wood, which anſwers the purpoſe of a match, he approaches the place where ſhe repoſes, and gently pulling away the covering from her head, jogs her till ſhe awakes. If ſhe then riſes up, and blows out the light, he needs no further confirmation that his company is not diſagreeable; but if, after he has diſcovered himſelf, ſhe hides her head, and takes no notice of him, he might reſt aſſured that any further ſolicitations will prove vain, and that it is neceſſary immediately for him to retire.

During his ſtay he conceals the light as much as poſſible in the hollow of his hands, and as the tents or rooms of the Indians are uſually large and capacious, he eſcapes without detection. It is ſaid that the young women who admit their lovers on theſe occaſions, take great care, by an immediate application to herbs, with the potent efficacy of which they are well acquainted, to prevent the effects of theſe illicit amours from becoming viſible; for ſhould the natural conſequences

enſue, they muſt for ever remain unmarried.

The children of the Indians are always diſtinguiſhed by the name of the mother; and if a woman marries ſeveral huſbands, and has iſſue by each of them, they are all called after her. The reaſon they give for this is, that as their offspring are indebted to the father for their ſouls, the inviſible part of their eſſence, and to the mother for their corporeal and apparent part, it is more rational that they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the latter, from whom they indubitably derive their being, than by that of the father, to which a doubt might ſometimes ariſe whether they are juſtly intitled.

There are ſome ceremonies made uſe of by the Indians at the impoſition of the name, and it is conſidered by them as a matter of great importance; but what theſe are I could never learn, through the ſecreſy obſerved on the occaſion. I only know that it is uſually given when the children have paſſed the ſtate of infancy.

Nothing can exceed the tenderneſs ſhown by them to their offspring; and a

perſon cannot recommend himſelf to their favour by any method more certain, than by paying ſome attention to the younger branches of their families. I can impute, in ſome meaſure, to the preſents I made to the children of the chiefs of the Naudoweſſies, the hoſpitable reception I met with when among them.

There is ſome difficulty attends an explanation of the manner in which the Indians diſtinguiſh themſelves from each other. Beſides the name of the animal by which every nation and tribe is denominated, there are others that are perſonal, and which the children receive from their mother.

The chiefs are alſo diſtinguiſhed by a name that has either ſome reference to their abilities, or to the hieroglyphick of their families; and theſe are acquired after they arrive at the age of manhood. Such as have ſignalized themſelves either in their war or hunting parties, or are poſſeſſed of ſome eminent qualification, receive a name that ſerves to perpetuate the fame of theſe actions, or to make their abilities conſpicuous.

Thus

Thus the great warrior of the Naudoweſſies was named Ottahtongoomliſhcah, that is, the Great Father of Snakes; ottah being in Engliſh father, tongoom great, and liſhcah a ſnake. Another chief was called Honahpawjatin, which means a ſwift runner over the mountains. And when they adopted me a chief among them, they named me Shebaygo, which ſignifies a writer, or a perſon that is curious in making hieroglyphicks, as they ſaw me often writing.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of their RELIGION.

IT is very difficult to attain a perfect knowledge of the religious principles of the Indians. Their ceremonies and doctrines have been ſo often ridiculed by the Europeans, that they endeavour to conceal them; and if, after the greateſt intimacy, you deſire any of them to explain to you their ſyſtem of religion, to prevent your ridicule they intermix with it many of the tenets they have received from

from the French miſſionaries, ſo that it is at laſt rendered an unintelligible jargon, and not to be depended upon.

Such as I could diſcover among the Naudoweſſies, for they alſo were very reſerved in this point, I ſhall give my readers, without paying any attention to the accounts of others. As the religion of that people from their ſituation appears to be totally unadulterated with the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, we ſhall be able to gain from their religious cuſtoms a more perfect idea of the original tenets and ceremonies of the Indians in general, than from thoſe of any nations that approach nearer to the ſettlements.

It is certain they acknowledge one Supreme Being or Giver of Life, who preſides over all things. The Chipéways call this being Manitou or Kitchi-Manitou; the Naudoweſſies, Wakon or Tongo-Wakon, that is, the Great Spirit; and they look up to him as the ſource of good, from whom no evil can proceed. They alſo believe in a bad ſpirit, to whom they aſcribe great power, and ſuppoſe that through his means all the evils which befall mankind are inflicted.

To

To him therefore do they pray in their diſtreſſes, begging that he would either avert their troubles, or moderate them when they are no longer avoidable.

They ſay that the Great Spirit, who is infinitely good, neither wiſhes or is able to do any miſchief to mankind; but on the contrary, that he ſhowers down on them all the bleſſings they deſerve; whereas the evil ſpirit is continually employed in contriving how he may puniſh the human race; and to do which he is not only poſſeſſed of the will, but of the power.

They hold alſo that there are good ſpirits of a leſſer degree, who have their particular departments, in which they are conſtantly contributing to the happineſs of mortals. Theſe they ſuppoſe to preſide over all the extraordinary productions of nature, ſuch as thoſe lakes, rivers, or mountains that are of an uncommon magnitude; and likewiſe the beaſts, birds, fiſhes, and even vegetables or ſtones that exceed the reſt of their ſpecies in ſize or ſingularity. To all of theſe they pay ſome kind of adoration. Thus when they arrive on the borders of Lake Superior, on the banks

of

of the Miſſiſſippi, or any other great body of water, they preſent to the Spirit who reſides there ſome kind of offering, as the prince of the Winnebagoes did when he attended me to the Falls of St. Anthony.

But at the ſame time I fancy that the ideas they annex to the word ſpirit, are very different from the conceptions more enlightened nations entertain of it. They appear to faſhion to themſelves corporeal repreſentations of their gods, and believe them to be of a human form, though of a nature more excellent than man.

Of the ſame kind are their ſentiments relative to a futurity. They doubt not but they ſhall exiſt in ſome future ſtate; they however fancy that their employments there will be ſimilar to thoſe they are engaged in here, without the labour and difficulty annexed to them in this period of their exiſtence.

They conſequently expect to be tranſlated to a delightful country, where they ſhall always have a clear unclouded ſky, and enjoy a perpetual ſpring; where the foreſts will abound with game, and the lakes with fiſh, which might be taken without

without requiring a painful exertion of ſkill, or a laborious purſuit; in ſhort, that they ſhall live for ever in regions of plenty, and enjoy every gratification they delight in here, in a greater degree.

To intellectual pleaſures they are ſtrangers; nor are theſe included in their ſcheme of happineſs. But they expect that even theſe animal pleaſures will be proportioned and diſtributed according to their merit; the ſkilful hunter, the bold and ſucceſsful warrior, will be entitled to a greater ſhare than thoſe who through indolence or want of ſkill cannot boaſt of any ſuperiority over the common herd.

The prieſts of the Indians are at the ſame time their phyſicians, and their conjurors; whilſt they heal their wounds or cure their diſeaſes, they interpret their dreams, give them protective charms, and ſatisfy that deſire which is ſo prevalent among them of ſearching into futurity.

How well they execute the latter part of their profeſſional engagements, and the methods they make uſe of on ſome of theſe occaſions, I have already ſhewn in the exertions of the prieſt of the Killiſtinoes, who was fortunate enough to ſuc-

ceed

ceed in his extraordinary attempt near Lake Superior. They frequently are ſucceſsful likewiſe in adminiſtering the ſalubrious herbs they have acquired a knowledge of; but that the ceremonies they make uſe of during the adminiſtration of them contributes to their ſucceſs, I ſhall not take upon me to aſſert.

When any of the people are ill, the perſon who is inveſted with this triple character of doctor, prieſt, and magician, ſits by the patient day and night, rattling in his ears a goad-ſhell filled with dry beans, called a Chichicoué, and making a diſagreeable noiſe that cannot be well deſcribed.

This uncouth harmony one would imagine ſhould diſturb the ſick perſon, and prevent the good effects of the doctor's preſcription; but on the contrary they believe that the method made uſe of contributes to his recovery, by diverting from his malignant purpoſes the evil ſpirit who has inflicted the diſorder; or at leaſt that it will take off his attention, ſo that he ſhall not increaſe the malady. This they are credulous enough to imagine he is conſtantly on the watch to do, and would

carry his inveteracy to a fatal length if they did not thus charm him.

I could not diſcover that they make uſe of any other religious ceremonies than thoſe I have deſcribed; indeed, on the appearance of the new moon they dance and ſing; but it is not evident that they pay that planet any adoration; they only ſeem to rejoice at the return of a luminary that makes the night cheerful, and which ſerves to light them on their way when they travel during the abſence of the ſun.

Notwithſtanding Mr. Adair has aſſerted that the nations among whom he reſided, obſerve with very little variation all the rites appointed by the Moſaic Law, I own I could never diſcover among thoſe tribes that lie but a few degrees to the north-weſt, the leaſt traces of the Jewiſh religion, except it be admitted that one particular female cuſtom and their diviſion into tribes, carry with them proofs ſufficient to eſtabliſh this aſſertion.

The Jeſuits and French miſſionaries have alſo pretended that the Indians had, when they firſt travelled into America, ſome notions, though theſe were dark and con-

confuſed, of the chriſtian inſtitution; that they have been greatly agitated at the ſight of a croſs, and given proofs, by the impreſſions made on them, that they were not entirely unacquainted with the ſacred myſteries of Chriſtianity. I need not ſay that theſe are too glaring abſurdities to be credited, and could only receive their exiſtence from the zeal of thoſe fathers, who endeavoured at once to give the public a better opinion of the ſucceſs of their miſſions, and to add ſupport to the cauſe they were engaged in.

The Indians appear to be in their religious principles rude and uninſtructed. The doctrines they hold are few and ſimple, and ſuch as have been generally impreſſed on the human mind, by ſome means or other, in the moſt ignorant ages. They however have not deviated, as many other uncivilized nations, and too many civilized ones have done, into idolatrous modes of worſhip; they venerate indeed and make offerings to the wonderful parts of the creation, as I have before obſerved; but whether theſe rites are performed on account of the impreſſion ſuch extraordinary appearances make on them, or whether

they conſider them as the peculiar charge, or the uſual places of reſidence of the inviſible ſpirits they acknowledge, I cannot poſitively determine.

The human mind in its uncultivated ſtate is apt to aſcribe the extraordinary occurrences of nature, ſuch as earthquakes, thunder, or hurricanes, to the interpoſition of unſeen beings; the troubles and diſaſters alſo that are annexed to a ſavage life, the apprehenſions attendant on a precarious ſubſiſtence, and thoſe numberleſs inconveniencies which man in his improved ſtate has found means to remedy, are ſuppoſed to proceed from the interpoſition of evil ſpirits; the ſavage conſequently lives in continual apprehenſions of their unkind attacks, and to avert them has recourſe to charms, to the fantaſtic ceremonies of his prieſt, or the powerful influence of his Manitous. Fear has of courſe a greater ſhare in his devotions than gratitude, and he pays more attention to deprecating the wrath of the evil than to ſecuring the favour of the good beings.

The Indians, however, entertain theſe abſurdities in common with thoſe of every part of the globe who have not been illumined

mined by that religion which only can diſperſe the clouds of ſuperſtition and ignorance, and they are as free from error as a people can be that has not been favoured with its inſtructive doctrines.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of their DISEASES, *&c.*

THE Indians in general are healthy, and ſubject but to few diſeaſes, many of thoſe that afflict civilized nations, and are the immediate conſequences of luxury or ſloth, being not known among them; however the hardſhips and fatigues which they endure in hunting or war, the inclemency of the ſeaſons to which they are continually expoſed, but above all the extremes of hunger, and that voraciouſneſs their long excurſions conſequently ſubject them to, cannot fail of impairing the conſtitution, and bringing on diſorders.

Pains and weakneſſes in the ſtomach and breaſt are ſometimes the reſult of their long faſting, and conſumptions of the ex-

ceſſive fatigue and violent exerciſes they expoſe themſelves to from their infancy, before they have ſtrength ſufficient to ſupport them. But the diſorder to which they are moſt ſubject, is the pleuriſy; for the removal of which, they apply their grand remedy and preſervative againſt the generality of their complaints, ſweating.

The manner in which they conſtruct their ſtoves for this purpoſe is as follows: They fix ſeveral ſmall poles in the ground, the tops of which they twiſt together ſo as to form a rotunda: this frame they cover with ſkins or blankets; and they lay them on with ſo much nicety, that the air is kept from entering through any crevice; a ſmall ſpace being only left juſt ſufficient to creep in at, which is immediately after cloſed. In the middle of this confined building they place red hot ſtones, on which they pour water till a ſteam ariſes that produces a great degree of heat.

This cauſes an inſtantaneous perſpiration, which they increaſe as they pleaſe. Having continued in it for ſome time, they immediately haſten to the neareſt ſtream, and plunge into the water; and, after

after bathing therein for about half a minute, they put on their cloaths, ſit down and ſmoak with great compoſure, thoroughly perſuaded that the remedy will prove efficacious. They often make uſe of this ſudoriferous method to refreſh themſelves, or to prepare their minds for the management of any buſineſs that requires uncommon deliberation and ſagacity.

They are likewiſe afflicted with the dropſy and paralytic complaints, which, however, are but very ſeldom known among them. As a remedy for theſe as well as for fevers they make uſe of lotions and decoctions, compoſed of herbs, which the phyſicians know perfectly well how to compound and apply. But they never truſt to medicines alone; they always have recourſe likewiſe to ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies, without which their patients would not think the phyſical preparations ſufficiently powerful.

With equal judgment they make uſe of ſimples for the cure of wounds, fractures, or bruiſes; and are able to extract by theſe, without inciſion, ſplinters, iron, or any ſort of matter by which the wound is

cauſed. In cures of this kind they are extremely dextrous, and complete them in much leſs time than might be expected from their mode of proceeding.

With the ſkin of a ſnake, which thoſe reptiles annually ſhed, they will alſo extract ſplinters. It is amazing to ſee the ſudden efficacy of this application, notwithſtanding there does not appear to be the leaſt moiſture remaining in it.

It has long been a ſubject of diſpute, on what continent the venereal diſeaſe firſt received its deſtructive power. This dreadful malady is ſuppoſed to have originated in America, but the literary conteſt ſtill remains undecided; to give ſome elucidation to it I ſhall remark, that as I could not diſcover the leaſt traces among the Naudoweſſies with whom I reſided ſo long, and was alſo informed that it was yet unknown among the more weſtern nations, I think I may venture to pronounce that it had not its origin in North America. Thoſe nations that have any communication with the Europeans or the ſouthern tribes are greatly afflicted with it; but they have all of them acquired a knowledge of ſuch certain and

expe-

expeditious remedies, that the communication is not attended with any dangerous conſequences.

Soon after I ſet out on my travels, one of the traders whom I accompanied, complained of a violent gonorrhœa, with all its alarming ſymptoms: this increaſed to ſuch a degree, that by the time we had reached the town of the Winnebagoes, he was unable to travel. Having made his complaint known to one of the chiefs of that tribe, he told him not to be uneaſy, for he would engage that by following his advice, he ſhould be able in a few days to purſue his journey, and in a little longer time be entirely free from his diſorder.

The chief had no ſooner ſaid this than he prepared for him a decoction of the bark of the roots of the prickly Aſh, a tree ſcarcely known in England, but which grows in great plenty throughout North America; by the uſe of which, in a few days he was greatly recovered, and having received directions how to prepare it, in a fortnight after his departure from this place perceived that he was radically cured.

If from exceſſive exerciſe, or the extremes of heat or cold, they are affected with pains in their limbs or joints, they ſcarify the parts affected. Thoſe nations who have no commerce with Europeans do this with a ſharp flint; and it is ſurprizing to ſee to how fine a point they have the dexterity to bring them; a lancet can ſcarcely exceed in ſharpneſs the inſtruments they make of this unmalleable ſubſtance.

They never can be convinced a perſon is ill, whilſt he has an appetite; but when he rejects all kind of nouriſhment, they conſider the diſeaſe as dangerous, and pay great attention to it; and during the continuance of the diſorder, the phyſician refuſes his patient no ſort of food that he is deſirous of.

Their doctors are not only ſuppoſed to be ſkilled in the phyſical treatment of diſeaſes, but the common people believe that by the ceremony of the chichicoué-uſually made uſe of, as before deſcribed, they are able to gain intelligence from the ſpirits of the cauſe of the complaints with which they are afflicted, and are thereby the better enabled to find remedies for them.

them. They discover something supernatural in all their diseases, and the physic administered must invariably be aided by these superstitions.

Sometimes a sick person fancies that his disorder arises from witchcraft; in this case the physician or juggler is consulted, who, after the usual preparations, gives his opinion on the state of the disease, and frequently finds some means for his cure. But notwithstanding the Indian physicians always annex these superstitious ceremonies to their prescriptions, it is very certain, as I have already observed, that they exercise their art by principles which are founded on the knowledge of simples, and on experience which they acquire by an indefatigable attention to their operations.

The following story, which I received from a person of undoubted credit, proves that the Indians are not only able to reason with great acuteness on the causes and symptoms of many of the disorders which are attendant on human nature, but to apply with equal judgment proper remedies.

In Penobſcot, a ſettlement in the province of Main, in the north-eaſt parts of New England, the wife of a ſoldier was taken in labour, and notwithſtanding every neceſſary aſſiſtance was given her, could not be delivered. In this ſituation ſhe remained for two or three days, the perſons around her expecting that the next pang would put an end to her exiſtence.

An Indian woman, who accidentally paſſed by, heard the groans of the unhappy ſufferer, and enquired from whence they proceeded. Being made acquainted with the deſperate circumſtances attending the caſe, ſhe told the informant, that if ſhe might be permitted to ſee the perſon, ſhe did not doubt but that ſhe could be of great ſervice to her.

The ſurgeon that had attended, and the midwife who was then preſent, having given up every hope of preſerving their patient, the Indian woman was allowed to make uſe of any methods ſhe thought proper. She accordingly took a handkerchief, and bound it tight over the noſe and mouth of the woman: this immediately brought on a ſuffocation; and from the ſtruggles that conſequently enſued ſhe

was

was in a few ſeconds delivered. The moment this was atchieved, and time enough to prevent any fatal effect, the handkerchief was taken off. The long ſuffering patient thus happily relieved from her pains, ſoon after perfectly recovered, to the aſtoniſhment of all thoſe who had been witneſs to her deſperate ſituation.

The reaſon given by the Indian for this hazardous method of proceeding was, that deſperate diſorders require deſperate remedies; that as ſhe obſerved the exertions of nature were not ſufficiently forcible to effect the deſired conſequence, ſhe thought it neceſſary to augment their force, which could only be done by ſome mode that was violent in the extreme.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Manner in which they treat their DEAD.

AN Indian meets death when it approaches him in his hut, with the ſame reſolution he has often faced him in the field. His indifference relative to this important article, which is the ſource of ſo many apprehenſions to almoſt every other nation, is truly admirable. When his fate is pronounced by the phyſician, and it remains no longer uncertain, he harangues thoſe about him with the greateſt compoſure.

If he is a chief and has a family, he makes a kind of funeral oration, which he concludes by giving to his children ſuch advice for the regulation of their conduct as he thinks neceſſary. He then takes leave of his friends, and iſſues out orders for the preparation of a feaſt, which is deſigned to regale thoſe of his tribe that come to pronounce his eulogium.

After

After the breath is departed, the body is dreſſed in the ſame attire it uſually wore whilſt living, his face is painted, and he is ſeated in an erect poſture on a mat or ſkin placed in the middle of the hut, with his weapons by his ſide. His relations being ſeated round, each harangues in turn the deceaſed; and if he has been a great warrior, recounts his heroic actions nearly to the following purport, which in the Indian language is extremely poetical and pleaſing:

"You ſtill ſit among us, Brother, "your perſon retains its uſual reſem- "blance, and continues ſimilar to ours, "without any viſible deficiency, except "that it has loſt the power of action. "But whither is that breath flown, "which a few hours ago ſent up ſmoke "to the Great Spirit? Why are thoſe "lips ſilent, that lately delivered to us "expreſſive and pleaſing language? why "are thoſe feet motionleſs, that a ſhort "time ago were fleeter than the deer on "yonder mountains? why uſeleſs hang "thoſe arms that could climb the talleſt "tree, or draw the tougheſt bow? Alas! "every part of that frame which we

"lately

" lately beheld with admiration and wonder, is now become as inanimate as it " was three hundred winters ago. We " will not, however, bemoan thee as if " thou waſt for ever loſt to us, or that " thy name would be buried in oblivion; thy ſoul yet lives in the great " Country of Spirits, with thoſe of thy " nation that are gone before thee; and " though we are left behind to perpetuate thy fame, we ſhall one day join " thee. Actuated by the reſpect we bore " thee whilſt living, we now come to " tender to thee the laſt act of kindneſs " it is in our power to beſtow: that thy " body might not lie neglected on the " plain, and become a prey to the beaſts " of the field, or the fowls of the air, " we will take care to lay it with thoſe " of thy predeceſſors who are gone before thee; hoping at the ſame time, " that thy ſpirit will feed with their ſpirits, and be ready to receive ours, when " we alſo ſhall arrive at the great Country of Souls."

In ſhort ſpeeches ſomewhat ſimilar to this does every chief ſpeak the praiſes of his departed friend. When they have

ſo done, if they happen to be at a great diſtance from the place of interment appropriated to their tribe, and the perſon dies during the winter ſeaſon, they wrap the body in ſkins, and lay it on a high ſtage built for this purpoſe, or on the branches of a large tree, till the ſpring arrives. They then, after the manner deſcribed in my Journal, carry it, together with all thoſe belonging to the ſame nation, to the general burial-place, where it is interred with ſome other ceremonies that I could not diſcover.

When the Naudoweſſies brought their dead for interment to the great cave, I attempted to get an inſight into the remaining burial rites; but whether it was on account of the ſtench which aroſe from ſo many bodies, the weather being then hot, or whether they choſe to keep this part of their cuſtoms ſecret from me, I could not diſcover; I found, however, that they conſidered my curioſity as ill-timed, and therefore I withdrew.

After the interment, the band to which the perſon belongs, take care to fix near the place ſuch hieroglyphicks as ſhall ſhow to future ages his merit and accompliſh-

ments. If any of theſe people die in the ſummer at a diſtance from the burying-ground, and they find it impoſſible to remove the body before it putrefies, they burn the fleſh from the bones, and preſerving the latter, bury them in the manner deſcribed.

As the Indians believe that the ſouls of the deceaſed employ themſelves in the ſame manner in the country of ſpirits, as they did on earth, that they acquire their food by hunting, and have there, alſo, enemies to contend with, they take care that they do not enter thoſe regions defenceleſs and unprovided: they conſequently bury with them their bows, their arrows, and all the other weapons uſed either in hunting or war. As they doubt not but they will likewiſe have occaſion both for the neceſſaries of life, and thoſe things they eſteem as ornaments, they uſually depoſit in their tombs ſuch ſkins or ſtuffs as they commonly made their garments of, domeſtic utenſils, and paint for ornamenting their perſons.

The near relations of the deceaſed lament his loſs with an appearance of great ſorrow and anguiſh; they weep and howl, and

and make uſe of many contortions, as they ſit in the hut or tent around the body, when the intervals between the praiſes of the chiefs will permit.

One formality in mourning for the dead among the Naudoweſſies is very different from any mode I obſerved in the other nations through which I paſſed. The men, to ſhow how great their ſorrow is, pierce the fleſh of their arms, above the elbows, with arrows; the ſcars of which I could perceive on thoſe of every rank, in a greater or leſs degree; and the women cut and gaſh their legs with ſharp broken flints, till the blood flows very plentifully.

Whilſt I remained among them, a couple whoſe tent was adjacent to mine, loſt a ſon of about four years of age. The parents were ſo much affected at the death of their favourite child, that they purſued the uſual teſtimonies of grief with ſuch uncommon rigour, as through the weight of ſorrow and loſs of blood, to occaſion the death of the father. The woman, who had hitherto been inconſolable, no ſooner ſaw her huſband expire, than

ſhe dried up her tears, and appeared cheerful and reſigned.

As I knew not how to account for ſo extraordinary a tranſition, I took an opportunity to aſk her the reaſon of it; telling her at the ſame time, that I ſhould have imagined the loſs of her huſband would rather have occaſioned an increaſe of grief, than ſuch a ſudden diminution of it.

She informed me, that as the child was ſo young when it died, and unable to ſupport itſelf in the country of ſpirits, both ſhe and her huſband had been apprehenſive that its ſituation would be far from happy; but no ſooner did ſhe behold its father depart for the ſame place, who not only loved the child with the tendereſt affection, but was a good hunter, and would be able to provide plentifully for its ſupport, than ſhe ceaſed to mourn. She added, that ſhe now ſaw no reaſon to continue her tears, as the child on whom ſhe doated was happy under the care and protection of a fond father, and ſhe had only one wiſh that remained ungratified, which was that of being herſelf with them.

Expreſſions

Expreſſions ſo replete with unaffected tenderneſs, and ſentiments that would have done honour to a Roman matron, made an impreſſion on my mind greatly in favour of the people to whom ſhe belonged, and tended not a little to counteract the prejudices I had hitherto entertained, in common with every other traveller, of Indian inſenſibility and want of parental tenderneſs.

Her ſubſequent conduct confirmed the favourable opinion I had juſt imbibed; and convinced me, that, notwithſtanding this apparent ſuſpenſion of her grief, ſome particles of that reluctance to be ſeparated from a beloved relation, which is implanted either by nature or cuſtom in every human heart, ſtill lurked in hers. I obſerved that ſhe went almoſt every evening to the foot of the tree, on a branch of which the bodies of her huſband and child were laid, and after cutting off a lock of her hair, and throwing it on the ground, in a plaintive melancholy ſong bemoaned its fate. A recapitulation of the actions he might have performed, had his life been ſpared, appeared to be her favourite theme; and whilſt ſhe foretold the fame

that would have attended an imitation of his father's virtues, her grief ſeemed to be ſuſpended :—

" If thou hadſt continued with us, my " dear Son," would ſhe cry, " how well " would the bow have become thy hand, " and how fatal would thy arrows have " proved to the enemies of our bands. " Thou wouldſt often have drank their " blood, and eaten their fleſh, and nu- " merous ſlaves would have rewarded thy " toils. With a nervous arm wouldſt " thou have ſeized the wounded buffalo, " or have combated the fury of the en- " raged bear. Thou wouldſt have over- " taken the flying elk, and have kept " pace on the mountain's brow with the " fleeteſt deer. What feats mighteſt thou " not have performed, hadſt thou ſtaid " among us till age had given thee " ſtrengh, and thy father had inſtructed " thee in every Indian accompliſhment !" In terms like theſe did this untutored ſavage bewail the loſs of her ſon, and frequently would ſhe paſs the greateſt part of the night in the affectionate employ.

The Indians in general are very ſtrict in the obſervance of their laws relative to mourning

mourning for their dead. In ſome nations they cut off their hair, blacken their their faces, and ſit in an erect poſture, with their heads cloſely covered, and depriving themſelves of every pleaſure. This ſeverity is continued for ſeveral months, and with ſome relaxations the appearance is ſometimes kept up for ſeveral years. I was told that when the Naudoweſſies recollected any incidents of the lives of their deceaſed relations, even after an interval of ten years, they would howl ſo as to be heard at a great diſtance. They would ſometimes continue this proof of reſpect and affection for ſeveral hours; and if it happened that the thought occurred, and the noiſe was begun towards the evening, thoſe of their tribe who were at hand would join with them.

CHAPTER XVI.

A concise CHARACTER *of the* INDIANS.

THE character of the Indians, like that of other uncivilized nations, is composed of a mixture of ferocity and gentleness. They are at once guided by passions and appetites, which they hold in common with the fiercest beasts that inhabit their woods, and are possessed of virtues which do honour to human nature.

In the following estimate I shall endeavour to forget on the one hand the prejudices of Europeans, who usually annex to the word Indian epithets that are disgraceful to human nature, and who view them in no other light than as savages and cannibals; whilst with equal care I avoid any partiality towards them, as some must naturally arise from the favourable reception I met with during my stay among them.

At the same time I shall confine my remarks to the nations inhabiting only the

the weſtern regions, ſuch as the Naudoweſſies, the Ottagaumies, the Chipéways, the Winnebagoes, and the Saukies; for as throughout that diverſity of climates, the extenſive continent of America is compoſed of, there are people of different diſpoſitions and various characters, it would be incompatible with my preſent undertaking to treat of all theſe, and to give a general view of them as a conjunctive body.

That the Indians are of a cruel, revengeful, inexorable diſpoſition, that they will watch whole days unmindful of the calls of nature, and make their way through pathleſs, and almoſt unbounded woods, ſubſiſting only on the ſcanty produce of them, to purſue and revenge themſelves of an enemy; that they hear unmoved the piercing cries of ſuch as unhappily fall into their hands, and receive a diabolical pleaſure from the tortures they inflict on their priſoners, I readily grant; but let us look on the reverſe of this terrifying picture, and we ſhall find them temperate both in their diet and potations (it muſt be remembered, that I ſpeak of thoſe tribes who have little

little communication with Europeans) that they with-ſtand, with unexampled patience, the attacks of hunger, or the inclemency of the ſeaſons, and eſteem the gratification of their appetites but as a ſecondary conſideration.

We ſhall likewiſe ſee them ſociable and humane to thoſe whom they conſider as their friends, and even to their adopted enemies; and ready to partake with them of the laſt morſel, or to riſk their lives in their defence.

In contradiction to the report of many other travellers, all of which have been tinctured with prejudice, I can aſſert, that notwithſtanding the apparent indifference with which an Indian meets his wife and children after a long abſence, an indifference proceeding rather from cuſtom than inſenſibility, he is not unmindful of the claims either of connubial or parental tenderneſs; the little ſtory I have introduced in the preceding chapter of the Naudoweſſie woman lamenting her child, and the immature death of the father, will elucidate this point, and enforce the aſſertion much better than the moſt ſtudied arguments I can make uſe of.

Accuſ-

Accuſtomed from their youth to innumerable hardſhips, they ſoon become ſuperior to a ſenſe of danger or the dread of death; and their fortitude, implanted by nature, and nurtured by example, by precept, and accident, never experiences a moment's allay.

Though ſlothful and inactive whilſt their ſtore of proviſion remains unexhauſted, and their foes are at a diſtance, they are indefatigable and perſevering in purſuit of their game, or in circumventing their enemies.

If they are artful and deſigning, and ready to take every advantage, if they are cool and deliberate in their councils, and cautious in the extreme either of diſcovering their ſentiments, or of revealing a ſecret, they might at the ſame time boaſt of poſſeſſing qualifications of a more animated nature, of the ſagacity of a hound, the penetrating ſight of a lynx, the cunning of the fox, the agility of a bounding roe, and the unconquerable fierceneſs of the tyger.

In their public characters, as forming part of a community, they poſſeſs an attachment for that band to which they belong,

belong, unknown to the inhabitants of any other country. They combine, as if they were actuated only by one ſoul, againſt the enemies of their nation, and baniſh from their minds every conſideration oppoſed to this.

They conſult without unneceſſary oppoſition, or without giving way to the excitements of envy or ambition, on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued for the deſtruction of thoſe who have drawn on themſelves their diſpleaſure. No ſelfiſh views ever influence their advice, or obſtruct their conſultations. Nor is it in the power of bribes or threats to diminiſh the love they bear their country.

The honour of their tribe, and the welfare of their nation, is the firſt and moſt predominant emotion of their hearts; and from hence proceed in a great meaſure all their virtues and their vices. Actuated by this, they brave every danger, endure the moſt exquiſite torments, and expire triumphing in their fortitude, not as a perſonal qualification, but as a national characteriſtic.

From

From thence alſo flow that inſatiable revenge towards thoſe with whom they are at war, and all the conſequent horrors that diſgrace their name. Their uncultivated mind, being incapable of judging of the propriety of an action, in oppoſition to their paſſions, which are totally inſenſible to the controuls of reaſon or humanity, they know not how to keep their fury within any bounds, and conſequently that courage and reſolution, which would otherwiſe do them honour, degenerates into a ſavage ferocity.

But this ſhort diſſertation muſt ſuffice; the limits of my work will not permit me to treat the ſubject more copiouſly, or to purſue it with a logical regularity. The obſervations already made by my readers on the preceding pages, will, I truſt, render it unneceſſary; as by them they will be enabled to form a tolerably juſt idea of the people I have been deſcribing. Experience teaches, that anecdotes, and relations of particular events, however trifling they might appear, enable us to form a truer judgment of the manners and cuſtoms of a people, and are much more declaratory of their real ſtate, than

the moſt ſtudied and elaborate diſquiſition, without theſe aids.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their LANGUAGE, HIEROGLYPHICKS, *&c.*

THE principal languages of the natives of North America may be divided into four claſſes, as they conſiſt of ſuch as are made uſe of by the nations of the Iroquois towards the eaſtern parts of it, the Chipéways or Algonkins to the north-weſt, the Naudoweſſies to the weſt, and the Cherokees, Chickaſaws, &c. to the ſouth. One or other of theſe four are uſed by all the Indians who inhabit the parts that lie between the coaſt of Labradore north, the Florida ſouth, the Atlantic ocean eaſt, and, as far as we can judge from the diſcoveries hitherto made, the Pacific Ocean on the weſt.

But of all theſe, the Chipéway tongue appears to be the moſt prevailing; it being held in ſuch eſteem, that the chiefs of every tribe, dwelling about the great lakes,

lakes, or to the weſtward of theſe on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, with thoſe as far ſouth as the Ohio, and as far north as Hudſon's Bay, conſiſting of more than thirty different tribes, ſpeak this language alone in their councils, notwithſtanding each has a peculiar one of their own.

It will probably in time become univerſal among all the Indian nations, as none of them attempt to make excurſions to any great diſtance, or are conſidered as qualified to carry on any negociation with a diſtant band, unleſs they have acquired the Chipéway tongue.

At preſent, beſides the Chipéways, to whom it is natural, the Ottawaws, the Saukies, the Ottagaumies, the Killiſtinoes, the Nipegons, the bands about Lake Le Pleuve, and the remains of the Algonkins or Gens de Terre, all converſe in it, with ſome little variation of dialect; but whether it be natural to theſe nations, or acquired, I was not able to diſcover. I am however of opinion that the barbarous and uncouth dialect of the Winnebagoes, the Menomonies, and many other tribes, will become in time totally

totally extinct, and this be adopted in its ſtead.

The Chipéway tongue is not incumbered with any unneceſſary tones or accents, neither are there any words in it that are ſuperfluous; it is alſo eaſy to pronounce, and much more copious than any other Indian language.

As the Indians are unacquainted with the polite arts, or with the ſciences, and as they are alſo ſtrangers to ceremony or compliment, they neither have nor need an infinity of words wherewith to embelliſh their diſcourſe. Plain and unpoliſhed in their manners, they only make uſe of ſuch as ſerve to denominate the neceſſaries or conveniences of life, and to expreſs their wants, which in a ſtate of nature can be but few.

I have annexed hereto a ſhort vocabulary of the Chipéway language, and another of that of the Naudoweſſies, but am not able to reduce them to the rules of grammar.

The latter is ſpoken in a ſoft accent, without any guttural ſounds, ſo that it may be learnt with facility, and is not difficult either to be pronounced or written. It is nearly as copious and expreſſive as the Chipéway tongue, and is the moſt

moſt prevailing language of any on the weſtern banks of the Miſſiſſippi; being in uſe, according to their account, among all the nations that lie to the north of the Meſſorie, and extend as far weſt as the ſhores of the Pacific Ocean.

As the Indians are not acquainted with letters, it is very difficult to convey with preciſion the exact ſound of their words; I have however endeavoured to write them as near to the manner in which they are expreſſed, as ſuch an uncertain mode will admit of.

Although the Indians cannot communicate their ideas by writing, yet they form certain hieroglyphicks, which, in ſome meaſure, ſerve to perpetuate any extraordinary tranſaction, or uncommon event. Thus when they are on their excurſions, and either intend to proceed, or have been, on any remarkable enterprize, they peel the bark from the trees which lie in their way, to give intelligence to thoſe parties that happen to be at a diſtance, of the path they muſt purſue to overtake them.

The following inſtance will convey a more perfect idea of the methods they

make uſe of on this occaſion, than any expreſſions I can frame.

When I left the Miſſiſſippi, and proceeded up the Chipéway River in my way to Lake Superior, as related in my Journal, my guide, who was a chief of the Chipéways that dwell on the Ottawaw Lake, near the heads of the river we had juſt entered, fearing that ſome parties of the Naudoweſſies, with whom his nation are perpetually at war, might accidentally fall in with us, and before they were apprized of my being in company, do us ſome miſchief, he took the following ſteps.

He peeled the bark from a large tree near the entrance of a river, and with wood-coal mixed with bear's-greaſe, their uſual ſubſtitute for ink, made in an uncouth but expreſſive manner the figure of the town of the Ottagaumies. He then formed to the left a man dreſſed in ſkins, by which he intended to repreſent a Naudoweſſie, with a line drawn from his mouth to that of a deer, the ſymbol of the Chipéways. After this he depictured ſtill farther to the left a canoe as proceeding up the river, in which he placed a man

a man ſitting with a hat on ; this figure was deſigned to repreſent an Engliſhman, or myſelf, and my Frenchman was drawn with a handkerchief tied round his head, and rowing the canoe ; to theſe he added ſeveral other ſignificant emblems, among which the Pipe of Peace appeared painted on the prow of the canoe.

The meaning he intended to convey to the Naudoweſſies, and which I doubt not appeared perfectly intelligible to them, was, that one of the Chipéway chiefs had received a ſpeech from ſome Naudoweſſie chiefs at the town of the Ottagaumies, deſiring him to conduct the Engliſhman, who had lately been among them, up the Chipéway river; and that they thereby required, that the Chipéway, notwithſtanding he was an avowed enemy, ſhould not be moleſted by them on his paſſage, as he had the care of a perſon whom they eſteemed as one of their nation.

Some authors have pretended that the Indians have armorial bearings, which they blazon with great exactneſs, and which diſtinguiſh one nation from another; but I never could obſerve any other arms among them than the ſymbols already deſcribed.

A ſhort VOCABULARY of the Chipéway Language.

N. B. This people do not make uſe either of the conſonants F or V.

A

ABOVE	*Spimink*
Abandon	*Packiton*
Admirable	*Pilawah*
Afterwards	*Mipidach*
All	*Kokinum*
Always	*Kokali*
Amiſs	*Napitch*
Arrive	*Takouchin*
Ax	*Agacwet*
Aſhes	*Pingoe*
Aſſiſt	*Mawinewáh*

B

Ball	*Alewin*
Bag, or tobacco-pouch	*Caſpetawgan*
Barrel	*Owentawgan*
Beat	*Pakkite*
Bear, a	*Mackwah*

Bear, a young one	*Makon*
Beaver	*Amik*
Beaver's ſkin	*Apiminiqué*
Be, or to be	*Tapaié*
Beard	*Miſchiton*
Becauſe	*Mewinch*
Believe	*Tilerimah*
Belly	*Miſhemout*
Black	*Markaute*
Blood	*Miſkow*
Body	*Yoe*
Bottle	*Shiſhego*
Brother	*Neconnis*
Brandy, or Rum	*Scuttawawbah*
Bread	*Pabouſhigan*
Breech	*Miſcouſab*
Breeches	*Kipokitie Kouſah*
Buck	*Waſketch*

C

Canoe	*Cheman*
Call	*Teſhenekaw*
Chief, a	*Okemaw*
Carry	*Petou*
Child, or Children	*Bobeloſhin*
Coat	*Capotewian*
Cold, I am	*Kekaich*

Come on	*Moppa*
Come to	*Pemotcha*
Comrade	*Neechee*
Concerned	*Tallemiſſi*
Corn	*Melomin*
Covering, or a Blanket	*Wawbewion*
Country	*Endawlawkeen*
Courage	*Tagwawmiſſii*
Cup	*Olawgan*

D

Dance	*Nemeh*
Dart	*Sheſhikwee*
Die, to	*Nip*
Diſh	*Mackoan*
Dog	*Alim*
Dead	*Neepoo*
Devil, or evil Spirit	*Matcho-Manitou*
Dog, a little one	*Alemon*
Done, it is done	*Shiah*
Do	*Toſhiton*
Doubtleſs	*Ontclatoubah*
Dreſs the kettle	*Poutwah*
Drink	*Minikwah*
Drunken	*Ouiſquiba*
Duck	*Chickhip*

Earth

E

Earth	*Aukwin*
Eat	*Owiſſiné*
Each	*Papégik*
Engliſh	*Sagaunoſh*
Enough	*Mimilic*
Equal, or alike	*Tawbiſcouch*
Eſteem	*Nawpetelimáw*
Eyes	*Wiſkinkhie*

F

Faſt	*Waliebic*
Fall	*Ponkiſin*
Far off	*Watſaw*
Fat	*Pimmitee*
Friend	*Niconnis*
Father	*Nooſah*
Few, or little	*Maungis*
Fatigued	*Taukwiſſi*
Field ſown	*Kittegaumic*
Fire	*Scutta*
Fire, to ſtrike	*Scutecke*
Find	*Nantounawaw*
Fiſh	*Kickon*
Fork	*Naſſawokwot*

Formerly	*Pirwego*
Fort	*Wakaigon*
Forward	*Nopawink*
French	*Nechtegooſh*
Freeze, to	*Kiſſin*
Freezes hard	*Kiſſin Magat*
Full	*Mouſkinet*
Fuzee or Gun	*Paſkeſſigan*

G

God, or the Great Spirit	*Kitchi Manitou*
Go by water	*Pimmiſcaw*
Girl	*Jeckwaſſin*
Give	*Millaw*
Glaſs, a mirror	*Wawbemo*
Good	*Cawlatch*
Good for nothing	*Malatal*
Govern	*Tibarimaw*
General, or Commander in Chief	*Kitchi Okimaw* / *Simäuganiſh*
Grapes	*Shoamin*
Great	*Manatou*
Greedy	*Sawſawkiſſi*
Guts	*Oläwbiſh*

H

Hare	*Wawpoos*
Heart	*Michewah*
Hate	*Shingaurimaw*
Half	*Nawbal*
Hair, human	*Liſſis*
Hair of beaſts	*Pewal*
Handſome	*Canogininne*
Have	*Tandaulaw*
Head	*Ouſtecouan*
Heaven	*Speminkakwin*
Herb	*Mejaſk*
Here	*Aconda*
Hidden	*Kemouch*
Home	*Entayent*
Honour	*Mackawalaw*
Hot	*Akeſhotta*
How	*Tawné*
How many	*Tawnemilik*
Hunt	*Kewaſſa*
Hut, or Houſe	*Wig-Waum*

I

Indians	*Iſhinawbah*
Iron	*Pewawbick*

Iſland	*Minis*
Immediately	*Webatch*
Indian Corn	*Mittawmin*
Intirely	*Nawpitch*
Impoſtor	*Mawlawtiſſie*
It might be ſo	*Tawneendo*

K

Kettle	*Ackikons*
King, or Chief	*Okemaw*
Keep	*Ganwerimaw*
Knife	*Mockoman*
Knife that is crooked	*Cootawgon*
Know	*Thickeremaw*

L

Lake	*Kitchigawmink*
Laugh	*Pawpi*
Lazy	*Kittimi*
Lame	*Kikekate*
Leave	*Pockiton*
Letter	*Mawſignaugon*
Life	*Nouchimowin*
Love	*Saukie*
Long ſince	*Shawſhia*
Land Carriage	*Cappatawgon*

Loſe	*Packilaugué*
Lie down	*Weepemaw*
Little	*Waubeſheen*

M

Meat	*Weas*
Much	*Nibbilaw*
Man	*Alliſſinape*
March, to go	*Pimmouſſie*
Marry	*Weewin*
Medicine	*Maſkikic*
Merchandize	*Alokochigon*
Moon	*Debicot*
Mortar to pound in	*Poutawgon*
Male	*Nape*
Miſtreſs	*Neremouſin*

N

Needle	*Shawbonkin*
Near	*Pewitch*
Nation	*Irinee*
Never	*Cawikkaw*
Night	*Debicot*
No	*Kaw*
Noſe	*Yoch*
Nothing	*Kakego*

Not yet	*Kawmiſchi*
Not at all	*Kaguich*
Nought, good for nothing	*Malatat*

O

Old	*Kauweſhine*
Otter	*Nikkik*
Other	*Coutack*

P

Pipe	*Poagan*
Part, what Part	*Tawnapee*
Play	*Packeigo*
Powder, gun, or duſt	*Pingo*
Peace, to make	*Pecacotiche*
Pray	*Tawlaimia*
Proper	*Sawſega*
Preſently	*Webatch*
Peninſula	*Minniſſin*

Q

Quick	*Kegotch*

R

Regard	*Wawbemo*
Red	*Miſcow*
Reſolve	*Tibelindon*
Relation	*Tawwemaw*
Reſpect	*Tawbawmica*
Rain	*Kimmewan*
Robe	*Ockolaw*
River	*Sippim*
Run, to	*Pitchebot*

S

Sad	*Talimiſſie*
Sail	*Pemiſcaw*
Sack, or Bag	*Maſkimot*
Sea, or large Lake	*Agankitchigawmink*
Shoes	*Maukiſſin*
Ship, or large Canoe	*Kitchi Cheman*
Sorry	*Niſcottiſſie*
Spirit	*Manitou*
Spoon	*Mickwon*
Star	*Alank*
Steal	*Kemautin*
Stockings	*Mittaus*

Strong	*Maſhkauwáh*
Sturgeon	*Lawmack*
Sun	*Kiſſis*
Sword	*Simaugan*
Surprizing	*Etwah, Etwah*
See	*Wawbemo*
Since	*Mapedoh*
Shirt	*Papawkwéan*
Slave	*Wackan*
Sleep	*Nippee*
Sit down	*Mintepin*

T

Take	*Emaundah*
Teeth	*Tibbit*
That	*Mawbah*
There	*Watſaudebi*
This	*Maundah*
Truly	*Kikit*
Together	*Mawmawwee*
Tobacco	*Semau*
Tongue	*Outon*
Tired	*Tawkonſie*
Too little	*Oſaummangis*
Too much	*Oſſauné*
Thank you	*Megwatch*

To-morrow

To-morrow	*Wawbunk*
To-morrow the day after	*Ouſwawbunk*

W

Warriors	*Semauganauſh*
Water	*Nebbi*
War	*Nantaubaulaw*
Way	*Mickon*
Well then !	*Tauneendah !*
What is that ?	*Wawwewin ?*
What now ?	*Quagonie ?*
Whence	*Taunippi*
Where	*Tah*
White	*Waubé*
Who is there ?	*Quagonie Maubah ?*
Wind	*Loutin*
Winter	*Pepoun*
Woman	*Ickwee*
Wood	*Mittic*
Wolf	*Mawhingon*

Y

Yeſterday	*Petchilawgo*
Yet	*Minnewatch*

Young

Young	*Wiſconekiſſi*
Yellow	*Wazzo.*

The Numerical Terms of the Chipéways.

One	*Páſhik*
Two	*Ninch*
Three	*Niſſou*
Four	*Neau*
Five	*Naran*
Six	*Ningoutwaſſou*
Seven	*Ninchowaſſou*
Eight	*Niſſowaſſou*
Nine	*Shongaſſou*
Ten	*Mittauſſou*
Eleven	*Mittauſſou Páſhik*
Twenty	*Ninchtawnaw*
Thirty	*Niſſou Mittawnaw*
Forty	*Neau Mittawnaw*
Fifty	*Naran Mittawnaw*
Sixty	*Ningoutwaſſou Mittawnaw*
Seventy	*Ninchowaſſou Mittawnaw*
Eighty	*Niſſowaſſou Mittawnaw*

Ninety

Ninety	*Shongaſſou Mittaw-naw*
Hundred	*Mittauſſou Mittaw-naw*
Thouſand	*Mittauſſou Mittauſ-ſou Mittawnaw.*

A Short VOCABULARY of the Naudoweſſie Language.

A

Axe	*Aſhpaw*

B

Beaver	*Chawbah*
Buffalo	*Tawtongo*
Bad	*Shejah*
Broach	*Muzahootoo*
Bear, a	*Wahkonſhejah*

C

Canoe	*Waahtoh*
Cold	*Mechuetah*
Child, a Male	*Wechoakſeh*

Child, a Female	*Whacheekſeh*
Come here	*Accooyouiyare*

D

Dead	*Neguſh*
Deer	*Tohinjoh*
Dog	*Shunguſh*

E

Eat	*Echawmenaw*
Ears	*Nookah*
Eyes	*Eſhtike*
Evil	*Shejah*

F

Fire	*Paahtah*
Father	*Otah*
Frenchman	*Neehteeguſh*
Falls of Water	*Owah Menah*
Friend	*Kitchiwah*

G

Good	*Woſhtah*
Give	*Accooyeh*

Go

Go away	*Accoowah*
God, or the Great Spirit	*Wakon*
Gun	*Muzah Wakon*
Great	*Tongo*
Gold	*Muzaham*

H

Hear	*Nookiſhon*
Horſe	*Shuetongo*
Home, or domeſtic	*Shuah*
Houſe	*Teebee*
Heaven	*Woſhta Tebee*

I

Iron	*Muzah*
I, or me	*Meoh*

K

King, or Chief	*Otah*
Kill	*Neguſhtaugaw*

L

Little	*Jeſtin*
Long	*Tongoom*
Lake	*Tongo Meneh*
Love	*Ehwahmeah*

M

Much	*Otah*
More	*Otenaw*
Moon	*Oweeh*
Mouth	*Eeh*
Medal	*Muzah Otah*
Mine	*Mewah*
Milk	*Etſawboh*

N

No	*Heyah*
Near	*Jeeſtinaw*

O

Oh!	*Hopiniyahie!*

Pipe

P

Pipe	*Shanuapaw*
Pipe of Peace	*Shanuapaw Wakon*

R

Rain	*Owah Meneh*
Ring	*Muzamchupah*
Round	*Chupah*

S

Smoke	*Shaweah*
Salt Water	*Menis Queah*
See, to	*Eſhtaw*
Sleep	*Eſhteemo*
Snake	*Omliſhcaw*
Sun	*Paahtah*
Spirit	*Wakon*
Spirituous Liquors	*Meneh Wakon*
Snow	*Sinnee*
Surprizing	*Hopiniayare*
Silver	*Muzaham*

T

Tobacco	*Shawſaſſaw*
Talk	*Owehchin*
Tree	*Ochaw*
There	*Dachè*

W

Woman	*Winnokejah*
Wonderful	*Hopiniyare*
Water	*Meneh*
What	*Tawgo*
Who is there?	*Tawgodachè?*
Wicked	*Heyahachta*

Y

You	*Chee*
Young	*Hawpawnaw*
You are good	*Waſhtah Chee*
You are a Spirit	*Wakon Chee*
You are my good Friend	*Waſhtah Kitchiwah Chee*
No Good	*Heyah Waſhtah.*

The Numerical Terms of the Naudowessies.

One	*Wonchaw*
Two	*Noompaw*
Three	*Yawmonee*
Four	*Toboh*
Five	*Sawbuttee*
Six	*Shawco*
Seven	*Shawcopee*
Eight	*Shahindohin*
Nine	*Nebochunganong*
Ten	*Wegochunganong*
Eleven	*Wegochunganong Wonchaw*
Twenty	*Wegochunganong Noompaw*
Thirty	*Wegochunganong Yawmonee*
Forty	*Wegochunganong Toboh*
Fifty	*Wegochunganong Sawbuttee*
Sixty	*Wegochunganong Shawco*
Seventy	*Wegochunganong Shawcopee*

Eighty	*Wegochunganong Shahindohin*
Ninety	*Wegochunganong Nebochunganong*
Hundred	*Opohng*
Thouſand	*Wegochunganong Opohng.*

To this ſhort vocabulary of the Naudoweſſie language, I ſhall adjoin a ſpecimen of the manner in which they unite their words. I have choſen for this purpoſe a a ſhort ſong, which they ſing, with ſome kind of melody, though not with any appearance of poetical meaſure, when they ſet out on their hunting expeditions: and have given as near a tranſlation as the difference of the idioms will permit.

Meoh accoowah eſhtaw paatah neguſhtawgaw ſhejah menah. Tongo Wakon meoh woſhta, paatah accoowah. Hopiniyahie oweeh accooyee meoh, woſhta patah otoh tohinjoh meoh teebee.

I will ariſe before the ſun, and aſcend yonder hill, to ſee the new light chaſe away the vapours, and diſperſe the clouds. Great Spirit give me ſucceſs. And when the ſun is gone, lend me, oh moon, light

light ſufficient to guide me with ſafety back to my tent loaden with deer!

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the BEASTS, BIRDS, FISHES, REPTILES, *and* INSECTS, *which are found in the interior Parts of North America.*

OF theſe I ſhall, in the firſt place, give a catalogue, and afterwards a deſcription of ſuch only as are either peculiar to this country, or which differ in ſome material point from thoſe that are to be met with in other realms.

OF THE BEASTS.

The Tyger, the Bear, Wolves, Foxes, Dogs, the Cat of the Mountain, the Wild Cat, the Buffalo, the Deer, the Elk, the Mooſe, the Carrabou, the Carcajou, the Skunk, the Porcupine, the Hedge-hog, the Wood-chuck, the Raccoon, the Martin, the Fiſher, the Muſkquaw, Squirrels, Hares, Rabbits, the

the Mole, the Weezel, the Mouſe, the Dormouſe, the Beaver, the Otter, the Mink, and Bats.

The TYGER. The Tyger of America reſembles in ſhape thoſe of Africa and Aſia, but is conſiderably ſmaller. Nor does it appear to be ſo fierce and ravenous as they are. The colour of it is a darkiſh fallow, and it is entirely free from ſpots. I ſaw one on an iſland in the Chipéway River, of which I had a very good view, as it was at no great diſtance from me. It ſat up on its hinder parts like a dog; and did not ſeem either to be apprehenſive of our approach, or to diſcover any ravenous inclinations. It is however very ſeldom to be met with in this part of the world.

The BEAR. Bears are very numerous on this continent, but more particularly ſo in the northern parts of it, and contribute to furniſh both food and beds for almoſt every Indian nation. Thoſe of America differ in many reſpects from thoſe either of Greenland or Ruſſia, they being not only ſomewhat ſmaller, but

timorous

timorous and inoffenſive, unleſs they are pinched by hunger, or ſmarting from a wound. The ſight of a man terrifies them; and a dog will put ſeveral to flight. They are extremely fond of grapes, and will climb to the top of the higheſt trees in queſt of them. This kind of food renders their fleſh exceſſively rich and finely flavoured; and it is conſequently preferred by the Indians and traders to that of any other animal. The fat is very white, and beſides being ſweet and wholeſome, is poſſeſſed of one valuable quality, which is, that it never cloys. The inhabitants of theſe parts conſtantly anoint themſelves with it, and to its efficacy they in a great meaſure owe their agility. The ſeaſon for hunting the bear is during the winter; when they take up their abode in hollow trees, or make themſelves dens in the roots of thoſe that are blown down, the entrance of which they ſtop up with branches of fir that lie ſcattered about. From theſe retreats it is ſaid they ſtir not whilſt the weather continues ſevere, and as it is well known that they do not provide themſelves with food, they are ſuppoſed to be enabled

enabled by nature to ſubſiſt for ſome months without, and during this time to continue of the ſame bulk.

The WOLF. The wolves of North America are much leſs than thoſe which are met with in other parts of the world. They have, however, in common with the reſt of their ſpecies, a wildneſs in their looks, and a fierceneſs in their eyes; notwithſtanding which they are far from being ſo ravenous as the European wolves, nor will they ever attack a man, except they have accidentally fed on the fleſh of thoſe ſlain in battle. When they herd together, as they often do in the winter, they make a hideous and terrible noiſe. In theſe parts there are two kinds; one of which is of a fallow colour, the other of a dun, inclining to a black.

The FOX. There are two ſorts of foxes in North America, which differ only in their colour, one being of a reddiſh brown, the other of a grey; thoſe of the latter kind that are found near the river Miſſiſſippi, are extremely beautiful, their hair being of a fine ſilver grey.

DOGS.

DOGS. The dogs employed by the Indians in hunting appear to be all of the ſame ſpecies; they carry their ears erect, and greatly reſemble a wolf about the head. They are exceedingly uſeful to them in their hunting excurſions, and will attack the fierceſt of the game they are in purſuit of. They are alſo remarkable for their fidelity to their maſters; but being ill fed by them are very troubleſome in their huts or tents.

The CAT of the Mountain. This creature is in ſhape like a cat, only much larger. The hair or fur reſembles alſo the ſkin of that domeſtic animal; the colour however differs, for the former is of a reddiſh or orange caſt, but grows lighter near the belly. The whole ſkin is beautified with black ſpots of different figures, of which thoſe on the back are long, and thoſe on the lower parts round. On the ears there are black ſtripes. This creature is nearly as fierce as a leopard, but will ſeldom attack a man.

The BUFFALO. This beaſt, of which there are amazing numbers in theſe parts, is larger than an ox, has ſhort black horns, with a large beard under his chin,

chin, and his head is ſo full of hair, that it falls over his eyes, and gives him a frightful look. There is a bunch on his back which begins at the haunches, and increaſing gradually to the ſhoulders, reaches on to the neck. Both this excreſcence and its whole body are covered with long hair, or rather wool, of a dun or mouſe colour, which is exceedingly valuable, eſpecially that on the fore part of the body. Its head is larger than a bull's, with a very ſhort neck; the breaſt is broad, and the body decreaſes towards the buttocks. Theſe creatures will run away at the ſight of a man, and a whole herd will make off when they perceive a ſingle dog. The fleſh of the buffalo is excellent food, its hide extremely uſeful, and the hair very proper for the manufacture of various articles.

The DEER. There is but one ſpecies of deer in North America, and theſe are higher and of a ſlimmer make than thoſe in Europe. Their ſhape is nearly the ſame as the European, their colour of a deep fallow, and their horns very large and branching. This beaſt is the ſwifteſt on the American plains, and they

they herd together as they do in other countries.

The ELK greatly exceeds the deer in ſize, being in bulk equal to a horſe. Its body is ſhaped like that of a deer, only its tail is remarkably ſhort, being not more than three inches long. The colour of its hair, which is grey, and not unlike that of a camel, but of a more reddiſh caſt, is nearly three inches in length, and as coarſe as that of a horſe. The horns of this creature grow to a prodigious ſize, extending ſo wide that two or three perſons might ſit between them at the ſame time. They are not forked like thoſe of a deer, but have all their teeth or branches on the outer edge. Nor does the form of thoſe of the elk reſemble a deer's, the former being flat, and eight or ten inches broad, whereas the latter are round and conſiderably narrower. They ſhed their horns every year in the month of February, and by Auguſt the new ones are nearly arrived at their full growth. Notwithſtanding their ſize, and the means of defence nature has furniſhed them with, they are as timorous as a deer. Their ſkin is very uſeful, and

will

will dreſs as well as that of a buck. They feed on graſs in the ſummer, and on moſs or buds in the winter.

The MOOSE is nearly about the ſize of the elk, and the horns of it are almoſt as enormous as that animal's; the ſtem of them however are not quite ſo wide, and they branch on both ſides like thoſe of a deer. This creature alſo ſheds them every year. Though its hinder parts are very broad, its tail is not above an inch long. It has feet and legs like a camel; its head is about two feet long, its upper lip much larger than the under, and the noſtrils of it are ſo wide that a man might thruſt his hand into them a conſiderable way. The hair of the mooſe is light grey, mixed with a blackiſh red. It is very elaſtic, for though it be beaten ever ſo long, it will retain its original ſhape. The fleſh is exceeding good food, eaſy of digeſtion, and very nouriſhing. The noſe, or upper lip, which is large and looſe from the gums, is eſteemed a great delicacy, being of a firm conſiſtence, between marrow and griſtle, and when properly dreſſed, affords a rich and luſcious diſh. Its hide is very proper for leather,

being thick and ſtrong, yet ſoft and pliable. The pace of this creature is always a trot, which is ſo expeditious, that it is exceeded in ſwiftneſs but by few of its fellow inhabitants of theſe woods. It is generally found in the foreſts, where it feeds on moſs and buds. Though this creature is of the deer kind, it never herds as thoſe do. Moſt authors confound it with the elk, deer, or carrabou, but it is a ſpecies totally different, as might be diſcovered by attending to the deſcription I have given of each.

The CARRABOU. This beaſt is not near ſo tall as the mooſe, however it is ſomething like it in ſhape, only rather more heavy, and inclining to the form of the aſs. The horns of it are not flat as thoſe of the elk are, but round like thoſe of the deer; they alſo meet nearer together at the extremities, and bend more over the face, than either thoſe of the elk or mooſe. It partakes of the ſwiftneſs of the deer, and is with difficulty overtaken by its purſuers. The fleſh of it likewiſe is equally as good, the tongue particularly is in high eſteem. The ſkin

being ſmooth and free from veins, is as valuable as ſhamoy.

The CARCAJOU. This creature, which is of the cat kind, is a terrible enemy to the preceding four ſpecies of beaſts. He either comes upon them from ſome concealment unperceived, or climbs up into a tree, and taking his ſtation on ſome of the branches, waits till one of them, driven by an extreme of heat or cold, takes ſhelter under it; when he faſtens upon his neck, and opening the jugular vein, ſoon brings his prey to the ground. This he is enabled to do by his long tail, with which he encircles the body of his adverſary; and the only means they have to ſhun their fate, is by flying immediately to the water, by this method, as the carcajou has a great diſlike to that element, he is ſometimes got rid of before he can effect his purpoſe.

The SKUNK. This is the moſt extraordinary animal that the American woods produce. It is rather leſs than a pole-cat, and of the ſame ſpecies; it is therefore often miſtaken for that creature, but is very different from it in many points.

Its hair is long and ſhining, variegated with large black and white ſpots, the former moſtly on the ſhoulders and rump; its tail is very buſhy, like that of the fox, part black, and part white, like its body; it lives chiefly in the woods and hedges. But its extraordinary powers are only ſhewn when it is purſued. As ſoon as he finds himſelf in danger he ejects, to a great diſtance from behind, a ſmall ſtream of water, of ſo ſubtile a nature, and at the ſame time of ſo powerful a ſmell, that the air is tainted with it for half a mile in circumference; and his purſuers, whether men or dogs, being almoſt ſuffocated with the ſtench, are obliged to give over the purſuit. On this account he is called by the French, Enfant du Diable, the Child of the Devil; or Bête Puante, the Stinking Beaſt. It is almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe the noiſome effects of the liquid with which this creature is ſupplied by nature for its defence. If a drop of it falls on your cloaths, they are rendered ſo diſagreeable that it is impoſſible ever after to wear them; or if any of it enters your eyelids,

the pain becomes intolerable for a long time, and perhaps at laſt you loſe your ſight. The ſmell of the ſkunk, though thus to be dreaded, is not like that of a putrid carcaſe, but a ſtrong fœtid effluvia of muſk, which diſpleaſes rather from its penetrating power than from its nauſeouſneſs. It is notwithſtanding conſidered as conducive to clear the head and to raiſe the ſpirits. This water is ſuppoſed by naturaliſts to be its urine; but I have diſſected many of them that I have ſhot, and have found within their bodies, near the urinal veſſels, a ſmall receptacle of water, totally diſtinct from the bladder which contained the urine, and from which alone I am ſatisfied the horrid ſtench proceeds. After having taken out with great care the bag wherein this water is lodged, I have frequently fed on them, and have found them very ſweet and good; but one drop emitted taints not only the carcaſe, but the whole houſe, and renders every kind of proviſions that are in it unfit for uſe. With great juſtice therefore do the French give it ſuch a diabolical name.

The

The PORCUPINE. The body of an American porcupine is in bulk about the ſize of a ſmall dog, but it is both ſhorter in length, and not ſo high from the ground. It varies very much from thoſe of other countries both in its ſhape and the length of its quills. The former is like that of a fox, except the head, which is not ſo ſharp and long, but reſembles more that of a rabbit. Its body is covered with hair of a dark brown, about four inches long, great part of which are the thickneſs of a ſtraw, and are termed its quills. Theſe are white, with black points, hollow, and very ſtrong, eſpecially thoſe that grow on the back. The quills ſerve this creature for offenſive and defenſive weapons, which he darts at his enemies, and if they pierce the fleſh in the leaſt degree, they will ſink quite into it, and are not to be extracted without inciſion. The Indians uſe them for boring their ears and noſes to inſert their pendants, and alſo by way of ornament to their ſtockings, hair, &c. beſides which they greatly eſteem the fleſh.

The WOOD-CHUCK is a ground animal of the fur kind, about the ſize of a martin, being nearly fifteen inches long; its body however is rounder, and his legs ſhorter; the fore paws of it are broad, and conſtructed for the purpoſe of digging holes in the ground, where it burrows like a rabbit; its fur is of a grey colour on the reddiſh caſt, and its fleſh tolerable food.

The RACOON is ſomewhat leſs in ſize than a beaver, and its feet and legs are like thoſe of that creature, but ſhort in proportion to its body, which reſembles that of a badger. The ſhape of its head is much like a fox's, only the ears are ſhorter, more round and naked; and its hair is alſo ſimilar to that animal's, being thick, long, ſoft, and black at the ends. On its face there is a broad ſtripe that runs acroſs it, and includes the eyes, which are large. Its muzzle is black, and at the end roundiſh like that of a dog; the teeth are alſo ſimilar to thoſe of a dog in number and ſhape; the tail is long and round, with annular ſtripes on it like thoſe of a cat; the feet have five long ſlender toes armed with ſharp claws, by which

which it is enabled to climb up trees like a monkey, and to run to the very extremities of the boughs. It makes uſe of its fore feet in the manner of hands, and feeds itſelf with them. The fleſh of this creature is very good in the months of September and October, when fruit and nuts, on which it likes to feed, are plenty.

The MARTIN is rather larger than a ſquirrel, and ſomewhat of the ſame make; its legs and claws however are conſiderably ſhorter. Its ears are ſhort, broad, and roundiſh, and its eyes ſhine in the night like thoſe of a cat. The whole body is covered with fur of a browniſh fallow colour, and there are ſome in the more northern parts which are black; the ſkins of the latter are of much greater value than the others. The tail is covered with long hair, which makes it appear thicker than it really is. Its fleſh is ſometimes eaten, but is not in any great eſteem.

The MUSQUASH, or MUSK-RAT, is ſo termed for the exquiſite muſk which it affords. It appears to be a diminutive of the beaver, being endowed with all the

properties of that ſagacious animal, and wants nothing but ſize and ſtrength, being not much bigger than a large rat of the Norway breed, to rival the creature it ſo much reſembles. Was it not for its tail, which is exactly the ſame as that of an European rat, the ſtructure of their bodies is ſo much alike, eſpecially the head, that it might be taken for a ſmall beaver. Like that creature it builds itſelf a cabbin, but of a leſs perfect conſtruction, and takes up its abode near the ſide of ſome piece of water. In the ſpring they leave their retreats, and in pairs ſubſiſt on leaves and roots till the ſummer comes on, when they feed on ſtrawberries, raſberries, and ſuch other fruits as they can reach. At the approach of winter they ſeparate, when each takes up its lodging apart by itſelf in ſome hollow of a tree, where they remain quite unprovided with food, and there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, ſubſiſt without any till the return of ſpring.

SQUIRRELS. There are five ſorts of ſquirrels in America; the red, the grey, the black, the variegated, and the flying. The two former are exactly the ſame

ſame as thoſe of Europe; the black are ſomewhat larger, and differ from them only in colour; the variegated alſo reſemble them in ſhape and figure, but are very beautiful, being finely ſtriped with white or grey, and ſometimes with red and black. The American flying ſquirrel is much leſs than the European, being not above five inches long, and of a ruſſet grey or aſh-colour on the back, and white on the under parts. It has black prominent eyes like thoſe of the mouſe, with a long flat broad tail. By a membrane on each ſide which reaches from its fore to its hind legs, this creature is enabled to leap from one tree to another, even if they ſtand a conſiderable diſtance apart; this looſe ſkin, which it is enabled to ſtretch out like a ſail, and by which it is buoyed up, is about two inches broad, and is covered with a fine hair or down. It feeds upon the ſame proviſions as the others, and is eaſily tamed.

The BEAVER. This creature has been ſo often treated of, and his uncommon abilities ſo minutely deſcribed, that any further account of it will appear unneceſſary;

neceſſary; however for the benefit of thoſe of my readers who are not ſo well acquainted with the form and properties of this ſagacious and uſeful animal, I ſhall give a conciſe deſcription of it. The beaver is an amphibious quadruped, which cannot live for any long time in the water, and it is ſaid is even able to exiſt entirely without it, provided it has the convenience of ſometimes bathing itſelf. The largeſt beavers are nearly four feet in length, and about fourteen or fifteen inches in breadth over the haunches; they weigh about ſixty pounds. Its head is like that of the otter, but larger; its ſnout is pretty long, the eyes ſmall, the ears ſhort, round, hairy on the outſide, and ſmooth within, and its teeth very long; the under teeth ſtand out of their mouths about the breadth of three fingers, and the upper half a finger, all of which are broad, crooked, ſtrong, and ſharp; beſides thoſe teeth called the inciſors, which grow double, are ſet very deep in their jaws, and bend like the edge of an axe, they have ſixteen grinders, eight on each ſide, four above and four below, directly oppoſite to each other. With the former

former they are able to cut down trees of a conſiderable ſize, with the latter to break the hardeſt ſubſtances. Its legs are ſhort, particularly the fore legs, which are only four or five inches long, and not unlike thoſe of a badger; the toes of the fore feet are ſeparate, the nails placed obliquely, and are hollow like quills; but the hind feet are quite different, and furniſhed with membranes between the toes. By this means it can walk, though but ſlowly, and is able to ſwim with as much eaſe as any other aquatic animal. The tail has ſomewhat in it that reſembles a fiſh, and ſeems to have no manner of relation to the reſt of the body, except the hind feet, all the other parts being ſimilar to thoſe of land animals. The tail is covered with a ſkin furniſhed with ſcales, that are joined together by a pellicle; theſe ſcales are about the thickneſs of parchment, nearly a line and a half in length, and generally of a hexagonical figure, having ſix corners; it is about eleven or twelve inches in length, and broader in the middle, where it is four inches over, than either at the root or the extremity. It is about two inches

thick

thick near the body, where it is almoſt round, and grows gradually thinner and flatter to the end. The colour of the beaver is different according to the different climates in which it is found. In the moſt northern parts they are generally quite black; in more temperate, brown; their colour becoming lighter and lighter as they approach towards the ſouth. The fur is of two ſorts all over the body, except at the feet, where it is very ſhort; that which is the longeſt is generally in length about an inch, but on the back it ſometimes extends to two inches, gradually diminiſhing towards the head and tail. This part of the fur is harſh, coarſe, and ſhining, and of little uſe; the other part conſiſts of a very thick and fine down, ſo ſoft that it feels almoſt like ſilk, about three quarters of an inch in length, and is what is commonly manufactured. Caſtor, which is uſeful in medicine, is produced from the body of this creature; it was formerly believed to be its teſticles, but later diſcoveries have ſhown that it is contained in four bags ſituated in the lower belly. Two of which, that are called the ſuperior from their being more elevated

elevated than the others, are filled with a ſoft reſinous adheſive matter, mixed with ſmall fibres, greyiſh without, and yellow within, of a ſtrong, diſagreeable, and penetrating ſcent, and very inflammable. This is the true caſtoreum; it hardens in the air, and becomes brown, brittle, and friable. The inferior bags contain an unctuous liquor like honey; the colour of which is a pale yellow, and its odour ſomewhat different from the other, being rather weaker and more diſagreeable; it however thickens as it grows older, and at length becomes about the conſiſtence of tallow. This has alſo its particular uſe in medicine, but it is not ſo valuable as the true caſtoreum.

The ingenuity of theſe creatures in building their cabbins, and in providing for their ſubſiſtence, is truly wonderful. When they are about to chuſe themſelves a habitation, they aſſemble in companies ſometimes of two or three hundred, and after mature deliberation fix on a place where plenty of proviſions, and all neceſſaries are to be found. Their houſes are always ſituated in the water, and when they can find neither lake nor pond adjacent,

jacent, they endeavour to ſupply the defect by ſtopping the current of ſome brook or ſmall river, by means of a cauſeway or dam. For this purpoſe they ſet about felling of trees, and they take care to chuſe out thoſe that grow above the place where they intend to build, that they might ſwim down with the current. Having fixed on thoſe that are proper, three or four beavers placing themſelves round a large one, find means with their ſtrong teeth to bring it down. They alſo prudently contrive that it ſhall fall towards the water, that they may have the leſs way to carry it. After they have by a continuance of the ſame labour and induſtry, cut it into proper lengths, they roll theſe into the water, and navigate them towards the place where they are to be employed. Without entering more minutely into the meaſures they purſue in the conſtruction of their dams, I ſhall only remark, that having prepared a kind of mortar with their feet, and laid it on with their tails, which they had before made uſe of to tranſport it to the place where it is requiſite, they conſtruct them with as much ſolidity and regularity as the

the moſt experienced workmen could do. The formation of their cabins is no leſs amazing. Theſe are either built on piles in the middle of the ſmall lakes they have thus formed, on the bank of a river, or at the extremity of ſome point of land that advances into a lake. The figure of them is round or oval, and they are faſhioned with an ingenuity equal to their dams. Two thirds of the edifice ſtands above the water, and this part is ſufficiently capacious to contain eight or ten inhabitants. Each beaver has his place aſſigned him, the floor of which he curiouſly ſtrews with leaves, or ſmall branches of the pine tree, ſo as to render it clean and comfortable; and their cabbins are all ſituated ſo contiguous to each other, as to allow of an eaſy communication. The winter never ſurprizes theſe animals before their buſineſs is completed; for by the latter end of September their houſes are finiſhed, and their ſtock of proviſions are generally laid in. Theſe conſiſt of ſmall pieces of wood whoſe texture is ſoft, ſuch as the poplar, the aſpin, or willow, &c. which they lay up in piles, and diſpoſe of in ſuch manner as to preſerve their moiſture.

moiſture. Was I to enumerate every inſtance of ſagacity that is to be diſcovered in theſe animals, they would fill a volume, and prove not only entertaining but inſtructive.

The OTTER. This creature alſo is amphibious, and greatly reſembles a beaver, but is very different from it in many reſpects. Its body is nearly as long as a beaver's, but conſiderably leſs in all its parts. The muzzle, eyes, and the form of the head are nearly the ſame, but the teeth are very unlike, for the otter wants the large inciſors or nippers that a beaver has; inſtead of theſe, all his teeth, without any diſtinction, are ſhaped like thoſe of a dog or wolf. The hair alſo of the former is not half ſo long as that belonging to the latter, nor is the colour of it exactly the ſame, for the hair of an otter under the neck, ſtomach, and belly, is more greyiſh than that of a beaver, and in many other reſpects it likewiſe varies. This animal, which is met with in moſt parts of the world, but in much greater numbers in North America, is very miſchievous, and when he is cloſely purſued, will not only attack dogs but men. It generally feeds upon

upon fiſh, eſpecially in the ſummer, but in the winter is contented with the bark of trees, or the produce of the fields. Its fleſh both taſtes and ſmells of fiſh, and is not wholſome food, though it is ſometimes eaten through neceſſity.

The MINK is of the otter kind, and ſubſiſts in the ſame manner. In ſhape and ſize it reſembles a pole-cat, being equally long and ſlender. Its ſkin is blacker than that of an otter, or almoſt any other creature; "as black as a mink," being a proverbial expreſſion in America; it is not however ſo valuable, though this greatly depends on the ſeaſon in which it is taken. Its tail is round like that of a ſnake, but growing flattiſh towards the end, and is entirely without hair. An agreeable muſky ſcent exhales from its body; and it is met with near the ſources of rivers on whoſe banks it chiefly lives.

OF THE BIRDS.

The Eagle, the Hawk, the Night Hawk, the Fiſh Hawk, the Whipperwill, the Raven, the Crow, the Owl, Parrots, the Pelican, the Crane, the Stork, the Cormorant, the Heron, the Swan, the Gooſe, Ducks, Teal, the Loon, the Water-Hen, the Turkey, the Heath Cock, the Partridge, the Quail, Pigeons, the Snipe, Larks, the Woodpecker, the Cuckoo, the Blue Jay, the Swallow, the Wakon Bird, the Black Bird, the Red Bird, the Thruſh, the Whetſaw, the Nightingale, the King Bird, the Robin, the Wren, and the Humming Bird.

The EAGLE. There are only two ſorts of eagles in theſe parts, the bald and the grey, which are much the ſame in ſize, and ſimilar to the ſhape of thoſe of other countries.

The NIGHT HAWK. This Bird is of the hawk ſpecies, its bill being crooked, its wings formed for ſwiftneſs, and its ſhape nearly like that of the common hawk;

hawk; but in ſize it is conſiderably leſs, and in colour rather darker. It is ſcarcely ever ſeen but in the evening, when, at the approach of twilight, it flies about, and darts itſelf in wanton gambols at the head of the belated traveller. Before a thunder-ſhower theſe birds are ſeen at an amazing height in the air aſſembled together in great numbers, as ſwallows are obſerved to do on the ſame occaſion.

The WHIPPERWILL, or, as it is termed by the Indians, the Muckawiſs. This extraordinary bird is ſomewhat like the laſt-mentioned in its ſhape and colour, only it has ſome whitiſh ſtripes acroſs the wings, and like that is ſeldom ever ſeen till after ſun-ſet. It alſo is never met with but during the ſpring and ſummer months. As ſoon as the Indians are informed by its notes of its return, they conclude that the froſt is entirely gone, in which they are ſeldom deceived; and on receiving this aſſurance of milder weather, begin to ſow their corn. It acquires its name by the noiſe it makes, which to the people of the colonies ſounds like the name they give it, Whipper-will; to an Indian ear Muck-a-wiſs. The words, it is true, are not alike,

but in this manner they ſtrike the imagination of each; and the circumſtance is a proof that the ſame ſounds, if they are not rendered certain by being reduced to the rules of orthography, might convey different ideas to different people. As ſoon as night comes on, theſe birds will place themſelves on the fences, ſtumps, or ſtones that lie near ſome houſe, and repeat their melancholy notes without any variation till midnight. The Indians, and ſome of the inhabitants of the back ſettlements, think if this bird perches upon any houſe, that it betokens ſome miſhap to the inhabitants of it.

The FISH HAWK greatly reſembles the latter in its ſhape, and receives his name from his food, which is generally fiſh; it ſkims over the lakes and rivers, and ſometimes ſeems to lie expanded on the water, as he hovers ſo cloſe to it, and having by ſome attractive power drawn the fiſh within its reach, darts ſuddenly upon them. The charm it makes uſe of is ſuppoſed to be an oil contained in a ſmall bag in the body, and which nature has by ſome means or other ſupplied him with the power of uſing for this purpoſe;

it

it is however very certain that any bait touched with a drop of the oil collected from this bird is an irreſiſtible lure for all ſorts of fiſh, and inſures the angler great ſucceſs.

The OWL. The only ſort of owls that is found on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi is extremely beautiful in its plumage, being of a fine deep yellow or gold colour, pleaſingly ſhaded and ſpotted.

The CRANE. There is a kind of crane in theſe parts, which is called by Father Hennepin a pelican, that is about the ſize of the European crane, of a greyiſh colour, and with long legs; but this ſpecies differs from all others in its bill, which is about twelve inches long, and one inch and half broad, of which breadth it continues to the end, where it is blunted, and round like a paddle; its tongue is of the ſame length.

DUCKS. Among a variety of wild ducks, the different ſpecies of which amount to upwards of twenty, I ſhall confine my deſcription to one ſort, that is, the wood duck, or, as the French term it, Canard branchus. This fowl receives its name from its frequenting the

woods, and perching on the branches of trees, which no other kind of water fowl (a characteriſtic that this ſtill preſerves) is known to do. It is nearly of a ſize with other ducks; its plumage is beautifully variegated, and very brilliant. The fleſh of it alſo, as it feeds but little on fiſh, is finely flavoured, and much ſuperior to any other ſort.

The TEAL. I have already remarked in my Journal, that the teal found on the Fox River, and the head branches of the Miſſiſſippi, are perhaps not to be equalled for the fatneſs and delicacy of their fleſh by any other in the world. In colour, ſhape, and ſize they are very little different from thoſe found in other countries.

The LOON is a water fowl, ſomewhat leſs than a teal, and is a ſpecies of the dobchick. Its wings are ſhort, and its legs and feet large in proportion to the body; the colour of it is a dark brown, nearly approaching to black; and as it feeds only on fiſh, the fleſh of it is very ill-flavoured. Theſe birds are exceedingly nimble and expert at diving, ſo that it is almoſt impoſſible for one perſon to ſhoot them, as they will dextrouſly avoid the

ſhot

ſhot by diving before they reach them; ſo that it requires three perſons to kill one of them, and this can only be done the moment it raiſes his head out of the water as it returns to the ſurface after diving. It however only repays the trouble taken to obtain it, by the excellent ſport it affords.

The PARTRIDGE. There are three ſorts of partridges here, the brown, the red, and the black, the firſt of which are moſt eſteemed. They are all much larger than the European partridges, being nearly the ſize of a hen pheaſant; their head and eyes are alſo like that bird, and they have all long tails, which they ſpread like a fan, but not erect; but contrary to the cuſtom of thoſe in other countries, they will perch on the branches of the poplar and black birch, on the buds of which they feed early in the morning and in the twilight of the evening during the winter months, when they are eaſily ſhot.

The WOOD PIGEON, is nearly the ſame as ours, and there is ſuch prodigious quantities of them on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, that they will ſometimes darken the ſun for ſeveral minutes.

The WOODPECKER. This is a very beautiful bird; there is one ſort whoſe feathers are a mixture of various colours; and another that is brown all over the body, except the head and neck, which are of a fine red. As this bird is ſuppoſed to make a greater noiſe than ordinary at particular times, it is conjectured his cries then denote rain.

The BLUE JAY. This bird is ſhaped nearly like the European jay, only that its tail is longer. On the top of its head is a creſt of blue feathers, which is raiſed or let down at pleaſure. The lower part of the neck behind, and the back, are of a purpliſh colour, and the upper ſides of the wings and tail, as well as the lower part of the back and rump, are of a fine blue; the extremities of the wings are blackiſh, faintly tinctured with dark blue on the edges, whilſt the other parts of the wing are barred acroſs with black in an elegant manner. Upon the whole this bird can ſcarcely be exceeded in beauty by any of the winged inhabitants of this or other climates. It has the ſame jetting motion that jays generally have, and its cry is far more pleaſing.

The

The WAKON BIRD, as it is termed by the Indians, appears to be of the ſame ſpecies as the birds of paradiſe. The name they have given it is expreſſive of its ſuperior excellence, and the veneration they have for it; the wakon bird being in their language the bird of the Great Spirit. It is nearly the ſize of a ſwallow, of a brown colour, ſhaded about the neck with a bright green; the wings are of a darker brown than the body; its tail is compoſed of four or five feathers, which are three times as long as its body, and which are beautifully ſhaded with green and purple It carries this fine length of plumage in the ſame manner as a peacock does, but it is not known whether it ever raiſes it into the erect poſition that bird ſometimes does. I never ſaw any of theſe birds in the colonies, but the Naudoweſſie Indians caught ſeveral of them when I was in their country, and ſeemed to treat them as if they were of a ſuperior rank to any other of the feathered race.

The BLACK BIRD. There are three ſorts of birds in North America that bear this name; the firſt is the common, or as it is there termed, the crow blackbird, which

which is quite black, and of the ſame ſize and ſhape of thoſe in Europe, but it has not that melody in its notes which they have. In the month of September this ſort fly in large flights, and do great miſchief to the Indian corn, which is at that time juſt ripe. The ſecond ſort is the red-wing, which is rather ſmaller than the firſt ſpecies, but like that it is black all over its body, except on the lower rim of the wings, where it is of a fine bright full ſcarlet. It builds its neſt, and chiefly reſorts among the ſmall buſhes that grow in meadows and low ſwampy places. It whiſtles a few notes, but is not equal in its ſong to the European blackbird. The third ſort is of the ſame ſize as the latter, and is jet black like that, but all the upper part of the wing, juſt below the back, is of a fine clear white; as if nature intended to diverſify the ſpecies, and to atone for the want of a melodious pipe by the beauty of its plumage; for this alſo is deficient in its muſical powers. The beaks of every ſort are of a full yellow, and the females of each of a ruſty black like the European.

The

The RED BIRD is about the ſize of a ſparrow, but with a long tail, and is all over of a bright vermilion colour. I ſaw many of them about the Ottawaw Lakes, but I could not learn that they ſung. I alſo obſerved in ſome other parts, a bird of much the ſame make, that was entirely of a fine yellow.

The WHETSAW is of the cuckoo kind, being like that, a ſolitary bird, and ſcarcely ever ſeen. In the ſummer months it is heard in the groves, where it makes a noiſe like the filing of a ſaw; from which it receives its name.

The KING BIRD is like a ſwallow, and ſeems to be of the ſame ſpecies as the black martin or ſwift. It is called the King Bird becauſe it is able to maſter almoſt every bird that flies. I have often ſeen it bring down a hawk.

The HUMMING BIRD. This beautiful bird, which is the ſmalleſt of the feathered inhabitants of the air, is about the third part the ſize of a wren, and is ſhaped extremely like it. Its legs, which are about an inch long, appear like two ſmall needles, and its body is proportionable to them. But its plumage exceeds

deſcription,

deſcription. On its head it has a ſmall tuft of a jetty ſhining black; the breaſt of it is red, the belly white, the back, wings, and tail of the fineſt pale green; and ſmall ſpecks of gold are ſcattered with inexpreſſible grace over the whole: beſides this, an almoſt imperceptible down ſoftens the colours, and produces the moſt pleaſing ſhades. With its bill, which is of the ſame diminutive ſize as the other parts of its body, it extracts from the flowers a moiſture which is its nouriſhment; over theſe it hovers like a bee, but never lights on them, moving at the ſame time its wings with ſuch velocity that the motion of them is imperceptible; notwithſtanding which they make a humming noiſe, from whence it receives its name.

Of the FISHES *which are found in the waters of the Miſſiſſippi.*

I have already given a deſcription of thoſe that are taken in the great lakes.

The Sturgeon, the Pout or Cat Fiſh, the Pike, the Carp, and the Chub.

The

The STURGEON. The freſh water ſturgeon is ſhaped in no other reſpect like thoſe taken near the ſea, except in the formation of its head and tail; which are faſhioned in the ſame manner, but the body is not ſo angulated, nor are there ſo many horny ſcales about it as on the latter. Its length is generally about two feet and a half or three feet long, but in circumference not proportionable, being a ſlender fiſh. The fleſh is exceedingly delicate and finely flavoured; I caught ſome in the head waters of the river St. Croix that far exceeded trout. The manner of taking them is by watching them as they lie under the banks in a clear ſtream, and darting at them with a fiſh-ſpear; for they will not take a bait. There is alſo in the Miſſiſſippi, and there only, another ſort than the ſpecies I have deſcribed, which is ſimilar to it in every reſpect, except that the upper jaw extends fourteen or fifteen inches beyond the under; this extenſive jaw, which is of a griſtly ſubſtance, is three inches and half broad, and continues of that breadth, ſomewhat in the ſhape of an oar, to the end, which is flat. The

fleſh

fleſh of this fiſh, however, is not to be compared with the other ſort, and is not ſo much eſteemed even by the Indians.

The CAT FISH. This fiſh is about eighteen inches long; of a browniſh colour and without ſcales. It has a large round head, from whence it receives its name, on different parts of which grow three or four ſtrong ſharp horns about two inches long. Its fins are alſo very bony and ſtrong, and without great care will pierce the hands of thoſe who take them. It weighs commonly about five or ſix pounds; the fleſh of it is exceſſively fat and luſcious, and greatly reſembles that of an eel in its flavour.

The CARP and CHUB are much the ſame as thoſe in England, and nearly about the ſame in ſize.

OF SERPENTS.

The Rattle Snake, the Long Black Snake, the Wall or Houſe Adder, the Striped or Garter Snake, the Water Snake, the Hiſſing Snake, the Green Snake,

Snake, the Thorn-tail Snake, the Speckled Snake, the Ring Snake, the Two-headed Snake.

The RATTLE SNAKE. There appears to be two ſpecies of this reptile; one of which is commonly termed the Black, and the other the Yellow; and of theſe the latter is generally conſidered as the largeſt. At their full growth they are upwards of five feet long, and the middle part of the body at which it is of the greateſt bulk, meaſures about nine inches round. From that part it gradually decreaſes both towards the head and the tail. The neck is proportionably very ſmall, and the head broad and depreſſed. Theſe are of a light brown colour, the iris of the eye red, and all the upper part of the body brown, mixed with a ruddy yellow, and chequered with many regular lines of a deep black, gradually ſhading towards a gold colour. In ſhort the whole of this dangerous reptile is very beautiful, and could it be viewed with leſs terror, ſuch a variegated arrangement of colours would be extremely pleaſing. But theſe are only to be ſeen

in their higheſt perfection at the time this creature is animated by reſentment; then every tint ruſhes from its ſubcutaneous receſs, and gives the ſurface of the ſkin a deeper ſtain. The belly is of a paliſh blue, which grows fuller as it approaches the ſides, and is at length intermixed with the colour of the upper part. The rattle at its tail, from which it receives its name, is compoſed of a firm, dry, callous, or horny ſubſtance of a light brown, and conſiſts of a number of cells which articulate one within another like joints; and which increaſe every year and make known the age of the creature. Theſe articulations being very looſe, the included points ſtrike againſt the inner ſurface of the concave parts or rings into which they are admitted, and as the ſnake vibrates or ſhakes its tail, makes a rattling noiſe. This alarm it always gives when it is apprehenſive of danger; and in an inſtant after forms itſelf into a ſpiral wreath, in the centre of which appears the head erect, and breathing forth vengeance againſt either man or beaſt that ſhall dare to come near it. In this attitude he awaits the

the approach of his enemies, rattling his tail as he ſees or hears them coming on. By this timely intimation, which heaven ſeems to have provided as a means to counteract the miſchief this venomous reptile would otherwiſe be the perpetrator of, the unwary traveller is apprized of his danger, and has an opportunity of avoiding it. It is however to be obſerved, that it never acts offenſively; it neither purſues or flies from any thing that approaches it, but lies in the poſition deſcribed, rattling his tail as if reluctant to hurt. The teeth with which this ſerpent effects his poiſonous purpoſes are not thoſe he makes uſe of on ordinary occaſions, they are only two in number, very ſmall and ſharp pointed, and fixed in a ſinewy ſubſtance that lies near the extremity of the upper jaw, reſembling the claws of a cat; at the root of each of theſe, which might be extended, contracted, or entirely hidden, as need requires, are two ſmall bladders which nature has ſo conſtructed, that at the ſame inſtant an inciſion is made by the teeth, a drop of a greeniſh poiſonous liquid enters the wound, and taints with its de-

ſtructive quality the whole maſs of blood. In a moment the unfortunate victim of its wrath feels a chilly tremor run through all his frame; a ſwelling immediately begins on the ſpot where the teeth had entered, which ſpreads by degrees over the whole body, and produces on every part of the ſkin the variegated hue of the ſnake. The bite of this reptile is more or leſs venomous according to the ſeaſon of the year in which it is given. In the dog-days, it often proves inſtantly mortal, and eſpecially if the wound is made among the ſinews ſituated in the back-part of the leg above the heel; but in the ſpring, in autumn, or during a cool day which might happen in the ſummer, its bad effects are to be prevented by the immediate application of proper remedies; and theſe Providence has bounteouſly ſupplied, by cauſing the Rattle Snake Plantain, an approved antidote to the poiſon of this creature, to grow in great profuſion where-ever they are to be met with. There are likewiſe ſeveral other remedies beſides this, for the venom of its bite. A decoction made of the buds or bark of the white aſh taken internally

prevents

prevents it pernicious effects. Salt is a newly diſcovered remedy, and if applied immediately to the part, or the wound be waſhed with brine, a cure might be aſſured. The fat of the reptile alſo rubbed on it is frequently found to be very efficacious. But though the lives of the perſons who have been bitten might be preſerved by theſe, and their health in ſome degree reſtored, yet they annually experience a ſlight return of the dreadful ſymptoms about the time they received the inſtillation. However remarkable it may appear it is certain, that though the venom of this creature affects in a greater or leſs degree all animated nature, the hog is an exception to the rule, as that animal will readily deſtroy them without dreading their poiſonous fangs, and fatten on their fleſh. It has been often obſerved, and I can confirm the obſervation, that the Rattle Snake is charmed with any harmonious ſounds, whether vocal or inſtrumental; I have many times ſeen them even when they have been enraged, place themſelves in a liſtening poſture, and continue immoveably attentive and ſuſceptible of delight all the time the muſick

has laſted. I ſhould have remarked, that when the Rattle Snake bites, it drops its under jaw, and holding the upper jaw erect, throws itſelf in a curve line, with great force, and as quick as lightning, on the object of its reſentment. In a moment after, it returns again to its defenſive poſture, having diſengaged its teeth from the wound with great celerity, by means of the poſition in which it had placed its head when it made the attack. It never extends itſelf to a greater diſtance than half its length will reach, and though it ſometimes repeats the blow two or three times, it as often returns with a ſuden rebound to its former ſtate. The Black Rattle Snake differs in no other reſpect from the yellow, than in being rather ſmaller, and in the variegation of its colours, which are exactly reverſed: one is black where the other is yellow, and vice verſa. They are equally venomous. It is not known how theſe creatures engender; I have often found the eggs of ſeveral other ſpecies of the ſnake, but notwithſtanding no one has taken more pains to acquire a perfect knowledge of every property of theſe reptiles than myſelf, I never could diſcover

cover the manner in which they bring forth their young. I once killed a female that had ſeventy young ones in its belly, but theſe were perfectly formed, and I ſaw them juſt before retire to the mouth of their mother, as a place of ſecurity, on my approach. The gall of this ſerpent, mixed with chalk, are formed into little balls, and exported from America, for medicinal purpoſes. They are of the nature of Gaſcoign's powders, and are an excellent remedy for complaints incident to children. The fleſh of the ſnake alſo dried, and made into broth, is much more nutritive than that of vipers, and very efficacious againſt conſumptions.

The LONG BLACK SNAKE. Theſe are alſo of two ſorts, both of which are exactly ſimilar in ſhape and ſize, only the belly of one is a light red, the other a faint blue; all the upper parts of their bodies are black and ſcaly. They are in general from ſix to eight feet in length, and carry their heads, as they crawl along, about a foot and an half from the ground. They eaſily climb the higheſt trees in purſuit of birds and ſquirrels, which are their chief food; and theſe, it is ſaid,

they charm by their looks, and render incapable of eſcaping from them. Their appearance carries terror with it to thoſe who are unacquainted with their inability to hurt, but they are perfectly inoffenſive and free from venom.

The STRIPED or GARTER SNAKE is exactly the ſame as that ſpecies found in other climates.

The WATER SNAKE is much like the Rattle Snake in ſhape and ſize, but is not endowed with the ſame venomous powers, being quite harmleſs.

The HISSING SNAKE I have already particularly deſcribed, when I treated, in my Journal, of Lake Erie.

The GREEN SNAKE is about a foot and an half long, and in colour ſo near to graſs and herbs, that it cannot be diſcovered as it lies on the ground; happily however it is free from venom, otherwiſe it would do an infinite deal of miſchief, as thoſe who paſs through the meadows, not being able to perceive it, are deprived of the power of avoiding it.

The THORN-TAIL SNAKE. This reptile is found in many parts of America, but it is very ſeldom to be ſeen. It is of a middle

a middle ſize, and receives its name from a thorn-like dart in its tail, with which it is ſaid to inflict a mortal wound.

The SPECKLED SNAKE is an aqueous reptile about two feet and an half in length, but without venom. Its ſkin, which is brown and white with ſome ſpots of yellow in it, is uſed by the Americans as a cover for the handles of whips, and it renders them very pleaſing to the ſight.

The RING SNAKE is about twelve inches long; the body of it is entirely black, except a yellow ring which it has about its neck, and which appears like a narrow piece of riband tied around it. This odd reptile is frequently found in the bark of trees, and among old logs.

The TWO-HEADED SNAKE. The only ſnake of this kind that was ever ſeen in America, was found about the year 1762, near Lake Champlain, by Mr. Park, a gentleman of New England, and made a preſent to lord Amherſt. It was about a foot long, and in ſhape like the common ſnake, but it was furniſhed with two heads exactly ſimilar, which united at the neck. Whether this was a diſtinct ſpecies of ſnakes, and was able to propagate its

likeneſs, or whether it was an accidental formation, I know not.

The TORTOISE or LAND TURTLE. The ſhape of this creature is ſo well known that it is unneceſſary to deſcribe it. There are ſeven or eight ſorts of them in America, ſome of which are beautifully variegated, even beyond deſcription. The ſhells of many have ſpots of red, green, and yellow in them, and the chequer work is compoſed of ſmall ſquares, curiouſly diſpoſed. The moſt beautiful ſort of theſe creatures are the ſmalleſt, and the bite of them is ſaid to be venomous.

LIZARDS, &c.

Though there are numerous kinds of this claſs of the animal creation in the country I treat of, I ſhall only take notice of two of them; which are termed the Swift and the Slow Lizard.

The SWIFT LIZARD is about ſix inches long, and has four legs and a tail. Its body, which is blue, is prettily ſtriped with dark lines ſhaded with yellow; but the end of the tail is totally blue. It is

ſo

ſo remarkably agile that in an inſtant it is out of ſight, nor can its movement be perceived by the quickeſt eye: ſo that it might more juſtly be ſaid to vaniſh, than to run away. This ſpecies are ſuppoſed to poiſon thoſe they bite, but are not dangerous, as they never attack perſons that approach them, chuſing rather to get ſuddenly out of their reach.

The SLOW LIZARD is of the ſame ſhape as the Swift, but its colour is brown; it is moreover of an oppoſite diſpoſition, being altogether as ſlow in its movements as the other is ſwift. It is remarkable that theſe lizards are extremely brittle, and will break off near the tail as eaſily as an icicle.

Among the reptiles of North America there is a ſpecies of the toad termed the TREE TOAD, which is nearly of the ſame ſhape as the common ſort, but ſmaller and with longer claws. It is uſually found on trees, ſticking cloſe to the bark, or lying in the crevices of it; and ſo nearly does it reſemble the colour of the tree to which it cleaves, that it is with difficulty diſtinguiſhed from it. Theſe creatures are only heard during the twi-

light of the morning and evening, or juſt before and after a ſhower of rain, when they make a croaking noiſe ſomewhat ſhriller than that of a frog, which might be heard to a great diſtance. They infeſt the woods in ſuch numbers, that their reſponſive notes at theſe times make the air reſound. It is only a ſummer animal, and never to be found during the winter.

INSECTS.

The interior parts of North America abound with nearly the ſame inſects as are met with in the ſame parallels of latitude; and the ſpecies of them are ſo numerous and diverſified that even a ſuccinct deſcription of the whole of them would fill a volume; I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to a few, which I believe are almoſt peculiar to this country; the Silk Worm, the Tobacco Worm, the Bee, the Lightning Bug, the Water Bug, and the Horned Bug.

The SILK WORM is nearly the ſame as thoſe of France and Italy, but will not produce the ſame quantity of ſilk.

The

The TOBACCO WORM is a caterpillar of the ſize and figure of a ſilk worm, it is of a fine ſea-green colour, on its rump it has a ſting or horn near a quarter of an inch long.

The BEES, in America, principally lodge their honey in the earth to ſecure it from the ravages of the bears, who are remarkably fond of it.

The LIGHTNING BUG or FIRE FLY is about the ſize of a bee, but it is of the beetle kind, having like that inſect two pair of wings, the upper of which are of a firm texture, to defend it from danger. When it flies, and the wings are expanded, there is under theſe a kind of coat, conſtructed alſo like wings, which is luminous; and as the inſect paſſes on, cauſes all the hinder part of its body to appear like a bright fiery coal. Having placed one of them on your hand, the under part only ſhines, and throws the light on the ſpace beneath; but as ſoon as it ſpreads its upper wings to fly away, the whole body which lies behind them appears illuminated all around. The light it gives is not conſtantly of the ſame magnitude, even when it flies; but ſeems

to

to depend on the expanſion or contraction of the luminous coat or wings, and is very different from that emitted in a dark night by dry wood or ſome kinds of fiſh, it having much more the appearance of real fire. They ſeem to be ſenſible of the power they are poſſeſſed of, and to know the moſt ſuitable time for exerting it, as in a very dark night they are much more numerous than at any other time. They are only ſeen during the ſummer months of June, July, and Auguſt, and then at no other time but in the night. Whether from their colour, which is a duſky brown, they are not then diſcernible, or from their retiring to holes and crevices, I know not, but they are never to be diſcovered in the day. They chiefly are ſeen in low ſwampy land, and appear like innumerable tranſient gleams of light. In dark nights when there is much lightning, without rain, they ſeem as if they wiſhed either to imitate or aſſiſt the flaſhes; for during the intervals, they are uncommonly agile, and endeavour to throw out every ray they can collect. Notwithſtanding this effulgent appearance, theſe

inſects are perfectly harmleſs; you may permit them to crawl upon your hand, when five or ſix, if they freely exhibit their glow together, will enable you to read almoſt the ſmalleſt print.

The WATER BUG is of a brown colour, about the ſize of a pea, and in ſhape nearly oval: it has many legs, by means of which it paſſes over the ſurface of the water with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs that it ſeems to ſlide or dart itſelf along.

The HORNED BUG, or, as it is ſometimes termed, the STAG BEETLE, is of a duſky brown colour nearly approaching to black, about an inch and an half long, and half an inch broad. It has two large horns, which grow on each ſide of the head, and meet horizontally, and with theſe it pinches very hard; they are branched like thoſe of a ſtag, from whence it receives its name. They fly about in the evening, and prove very troubleſome to thoſe who are in the fields at that time.

I muſt not omit that the LOCUST is a ſeptennial inſect, as they are only ſeen, a ſmall number of ſtragglers excepted,

cepted, every ſeven years, when they infeſt theſe parts and the interior colonies in large ſwarms, and do a great deal of miſchief. The years when they thus arrive are denominated the locuſt years.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the TREES, SHRUBS, ROOTS, HERBS, FLOWERS *&c.*

I SHALL here obſerve the ſame method that I have purſued in the preceding chapter, and having given a liſt of the trees, &c. which are natives of the interior parts of North America, particularize ſuch only as differ from the produce of other countries, or, being little known, have not been deſcribed.

OF TREES.

The Oak, the Pine Tree, the Maple, the Aſh, the Hemlock, the Baſs or White Wood, the Cedar, the Elm, the Birch, the Fir, the Locuſt Tree, the Poplar,

Poplar, the Wickopic or Suckwic, the Spruce, the Hornbeam, and the Button Wood Tree.

The OAK. There are ſeveral ſorts of oaks in theſe parts; the black, the white, the red, the yellow, the grey, the ſwamp oak, and the cheſnut oak: the five former vary but little in their external appearance, the ſhape of the leaves, and the colour of the bark being ſo much alike, that they are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable; but the body of the tree when ſawed diſcovers the variation, which chiefly conſiſts in the colour of the wood, they being all very hard and proper for building. The ſwamp oak differs materially from the others both in the ſhape of the leaf, which is ſmaller, and in the bark, which is ſmoother; and likewiſe as it grows only in a moiſt gravelly ſoil. It is eſteemed the tougheſt of all woods, being ſo ſtrong yet pliable, that it is often made uſe of inſtead of whalebone, and is equally ſerviceable. The cheſnut oak alſo is greatly different from the others, particularly in the ſhape of the leaf, which much reſembles that of the cheſnut-tree,

and

and for this reaſon it is ſo denominated. It is neither ſo ſtrong as the former ſpecies, or ſo tough as the latter, but is of a nature proper to be ſplit into rails for fences, in which ſtate it will endure a conſiderable time.

The PINE TREE. That ſpecies of the pine tree peculiar to this part of the continent is the white, the quality of which I need not deſcribe, as the timber of it is ſo well known under the name of deals. It grows here in great plenty, to an amazing height and ſize, and yields an excellent turpentine, though not in ſuch quantities as thoſe in the northern parts of Europe.

The MAPLE. Of this tree there are two ſorts, the hard and the ſoft, both of which yield a luſcious juice, from which the Indians by boiling make very good ſugar. The ſap of the former is much richer and ſweeter than the latter, but the ſoft produces a greater quantity. The wood of the hard maple is very beautifully veined and curled, and when wrought into cabinets, tables, gunſtocks, &c. is greatly valued. That of the ſoft ſort differs in its texture, wanting the variegated grain of the hard; it alſo

grows

grows more ſtrait and free from branches, and is more eaſily ſplit. It likewiſe may be diſtinguiſhed from the hard, as this grows in meadows and low-lands, that on the hills and up-lands. The leaves are ſhaped alike, but thoſe of the ſoft maple are much the largeſt, and of a deeper green.

The ASH. There are ſeveral ſorts of this tree in theſe parts, but that to which I ſhall confine my deſcription, is the yellow aſh, which is only found near the head branches of the Miſſiſſippi. This tree grows to an amazing height, and the body of it is ſo firm and ſound, that the French traders who go into that country from Louiſiana to purchaſe furs make of them periaguays; this they do by excavating them by fire, and when they are completed, convey in them the produce of their trade to New Orleans, where they find a good market both for their veſſels and cargoes. The wood of this tree greatly reſembles that of the common aſh, but it might be diſtinguiſhed from any other tree by its bark; the roſs or outſide bark being near eight inches thick, and indented with furrows more than ſix

inches deep, which make thoſe that are arrived to a great bulk appear uncommonly rough; and by this peculiarity they may be readily known. The rind or inſide bark is of the ſame thickneſs as that of other trees, but its colour is a fine bright yellow; inſomuch that if it is but ſlightly handled, it will leave a ſtain on the fingers, which cannot eaſily be waſhed away; and if in the ſpring you peel off the bark, and touch the ſap, which then riſes between that and the body of the tree, it will leave ſo deep a tincture that it will require three or four days to wear it off. Many uſeful qualities belonging to this tree I doubt not will be diſcovered in time, beſides its proving a valuable acquiſition to the dyer.

The HEMLOCK TREE grows in every part of America in a greater or leſs degree. It is an ever-green of a very large growth, and has leaves ſomewhat like that of the yew; it is however quite uſeleſs, and only an incumbrance to the ground, the wood being of a very coarſe grain, and full of wind-ſhakes or cracks.

The

The BASS or WHITE WOOD is a tree of a middling ſize, and the whiteſt and ſofteſt wood that grows; when quite dry it ſwims on the water like a cork: in the ſettlements the turners make of it bowls, trenchers, and diſhes, which wear ſmooth, and will laſt a long time; but when applied to any other purpoſe it is far from durable.

The WICKOPICK or SUCKWICK appears to be a ſpecies of the white wood, and is diſtinguiſhed from it by a peculiar quality in the bark, which when pounded and moiſtened with a little water, inſtantly becomes a matter of the conſiſtence and nature of ſize. With this the Indians pay their canoes, and it greatly exceeds pitch or any other material uſually appropriated to that purpoſe; for beſides its adheſive quality, it is of ſo oily a nature, that the water cannot penetrate through it, and its repelling power abates not for a conſiderable time.

The BUTTON WOOD is a tree of the largeſt ſize, and might be diſtinguiſhed by its bark, which is quite ſmooth and prettily mottled. The wood is very proper for the uſe of cabinet-makers. It is

covered with ſmall hard burs which ſpring from the branches, that appear not unlike buttons, and from theſe I believe it receives its name.

NUT TREES.

The Butter or Oil Nut, the Walnut, the Hazle Nut, the Beech Nut, the Pecan Nut, the Cheſnut, the Hickory.

The BUTTER or OIL NUT. As no mention has been made by any authors of this nut, I ſhall be the more particular in my account of it. The tree grows in meadows where the ſoil is rich and warm. The body of it ſeldom exceeds a yard in circumference, is full of branches, the twigs of which are ſhort and blunt, and its leaves reſemble thoſe of the walnut. The nut has a ſhell like that fruit, which when ripe is more furrowed, and more eaſily cracked; it is alſo much longer and larger than a walnut, and contains a greater quantity of kernel, which is very oily, and of a rich agreeable flavour. I am perſuaded that a much purer oil than that

of

of olives might be extracted from this nut. The inside bark of this tree dyes a good purple; and it is said, varies in its shade, being either darker or lighter according to the month in which it is gathered.

The BEECH NUT. Though this tree grows exactly like that of the same name in Europe, yet it produces nuts equally as good as chensuts; on which bears, martins, squirrels, partridges, turkies, and many other beasts and birds feed. The nut is contained, whilst growing, in an outside case like that of a chesnut, but not so prickly; and the coat of the inside shell is also smooth like that; only its form is nearly triangular. Vast quantities of them lie scattered about in the woods, and supply with food great numbers of the creatures just mentioned. The leaves, which are white, continue on the trees during the whole winter. A decoction made of them is a certain and expeditious cure for wounds which arise from burning or scalding, as well as a restorative for those members that are nipped by the frost.

The PECAN NUT is somewhat of the walnut kind, but rather smaller than a

walnut, being about the ſize of a middling acorn, and of an oval form; the ſhell is eaſily cracked, and the kernel ſhaped like that of a walnut. This tree grows chiefly near the Illinois river.

The HICKORY is alſo of the walnut kind, and bears a fruit nearly like that tree. There are ſeveral ſorts of them, which vary only in the colour of the wood. Being of a very tough nature, the wood is generally uſed for the handles of axes, &c. It is alſo very good fire-wood, and as it burns an excellent ſugar diſtills from it.

FRUIT TREES.

I need not to obſerve that theſe are all the ſpontaneous productions of nature, which have never received the advantages of ingrafting, tranſplanting, or manuring.

The Vine, the Mulberry Tree, the Crab Apple Tree, the Plum Tree, the Cherry Tree, and the Sweet Gum Tree.

The

The VINE is very common here, and of three kinds; the firſt ſort hardly deſerves the name of a grape; the ſecond much reſembles the Burgundy grape, and if expoſed to the ſun a good wine might be made from them. The third ſort reſembles Zant currants, which are ſo frequently uſed in cakes, &c. in England, and if proper care was taken of them, would be equal, if not ſuperior, to thoſe of that country.

The MULBERRY TREE is of two kinds, red and white, and nearly of the ſame ſize of thoſe of France and Italy, and grow in ſuch plenty, as to feed any quantity of ſilk worms.

The CRAB APPLE TREE bears a fruit that is much larger and better flavoured than thoſe of Europe.

The PLUM TREE. There are two ſorts of plums in this country, one a large ſort of a purple caſt on one ſide, and red on the reverſe, the ſecond totally green, and much ſmaller. Both theſe are of a good flavour, and are greatly eſteemed by the Indians, whoſe taſte is not refined, but who are ſatisfied with the

productions of nature in their unimproved ſtate.

The CHERRY TREE. There are three ſorts of cherries in this country; the black, the red, and the ſand cherry; the two latter may with more propriety be ranked among the ſhrubs, as the buſh that bears the ſand cherries almoſt creeps along the ground, and the other riſes not above eight or ten feet in height; however I ſhall give an account of them all in this place. The black cherries are about the ſize of a currant, and hang in cluſters like grapes; the trees which bear them being very fruitful, they are generally loaded, but the fruit is not good to eat, however they give an agreeable flavour to brandy, and turn it to the colour of claret. The red cherries grow in the greateſt profuſion, and hang in bunches like the black ſort juſt deſcribed; ſo that the buſhes which bear them appear at a diſtance like ſolid bodies of red matter. Some people admire this fruit, but they partake of the nature and taſte of alum, leaving a diſagreeable roughneſs in the throat, and being very aſtringent. As I have already deſcribed the ſand cherries, which

which greatly exceed the two other ſorts both in flavour and ſize, I ſhall give no further deſcription of them. The wood of the black cherry-tree is very uſeful, and works well into cabinet ware.

The SWEET GUM TREE or LIQUID AMBER (Copalm) is not only extremely common, but it affords a balm, the virtues of which are infinite. Its bark is black and hard, and its wood ſo tender and ſupple, that when the tree is felled, you may draw from the middle of it rods of five or ſix feet in length. It cannot be employed in building or furniture, as it warps continually. Its leaf is indented with five points like a ſtar. This balm is reckoned by the Indians to be an excellent febrifuge, and it cures wounds in two or three days.

SHRUBS.

The Willow, Shin Wood, Shumack, Saſſafras, the Prickly Aſh, Mooſe Wood, Spoon Wood, Large Elder, Dwarf Elder, Poiſonous Elder, Juniper, Shrub Oak, Sweet Fern, the Laurel, the Witch Hazle,

zle, the Myrtle Wax Tree, Winter Green, the Fever Buſh, the Cranberry Buſh, the Gooſberry Buſh, the Currant Buſh, the Whirtle Berry, the Raſberry, the Black Berry, and the Choak Berry.

The WILLOW. There are ſeveral ſpecies of the willow, the moſt remarkable of which is a ſmall ſort that grows on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſome other places adjacent. The bark of this ſhrub ſupplies the beaver with its winter food; and where the water has waſhed the ſoil from its roots, they appear to conſiſt of fibres interwoven together like thread, the colour of which is of an inexpreſſibly fine ſcarlet; with this the Indians tinge many of the ornamental parts of their dreſs.

SHIN WOOD. This extraordinary ſhrub grows in the foreſts, and riſing like a vine, runs near the ground for ſix or eight feet, and then takes root again; in the ſame manner taking root, and ſpringing up ſucceſſively, one ſtalk covers a large ſpace; this proves very troubleſome to the haſty traveller, by ſtriking againſt his

his ſhins, and entangling his legs; from which it has acquired its name.

The SASSAFRAS is a wood well kown for its medicinal qualities. It might with equal propriety be termed a tree as a ſhrub, as it ſometimes grows thirty feet high; but in general it does not reach higher than thoſe of the ſhrub kind. The leaves, which yield an agreeable fragrance, are large, and nearly ſeparated into three diviſions. It bears a reddiſh brown berry of the ſize and ſhape of Pimento, and which is ſometimes uſed in the colonies as a ſubſtitute for that ſpice. The bark or roots of this tree is infinitely ſuperior to the wood for its uſe in medicine, and I am ſurprized it is ſo ſeldom to be met with, as its efficacy is ſo much greater.

The PRICKLY ASH is a ſhrub that ſometimes grows to the height of ten or fifteen feet, and has a leaf exactly reſembling that of an aſh, but it receives the epithet to its name from the abundance of ſhort thorns with which every branch is covered, and which renders it very troubleſome to thoſe who paſs through the ſpot where they grow thick. It alſo bears

a ſcarlet

a ſcarlet berry, which when ripe, has a fiery taſte like pepper. The bark of this tree, particularly the bark of the roots, is highly eſteemed by the natives for its medicinal qualities. I have already mentioned one inſtance of its efficacy, and there is no doubt but that the decoction of it will expeditiouſly and radically remove all impurities of the blood.

The MOOSE WOOD grows about four feet high, and is very full of branches; but what renders it worth notice is its bark, which is of ſo ſtrong and pliable a texture, that being peeled off at any ſeaſon, and twiſted, makes equally as good cordage as hemp.

The SPOON WOOD is a ſpecies of the laurel, and the wood when ſawed reſembles box wood.

The ELDER, commonly termed the poiſonous elder, nearly reſembles the other ſorts in its leaves and branches, but it grows much ſtraiter, and is only found in ſwamps and moiſt ſoils. This ſhrub is endowed with a very extraordinary quality, that renders it poiſonous to ſome conſtitutions, which it effects if the perſon only approaches within a few yards

of

of it, whilſt others may even chew the leaves or the rind without receiving the leaſt detriment from them: the poiſon however is not mortal, though it operates very violently on the infected perſon, whoſe body and head ſwell to an amazing ſize, and are covered with eruptions, that at their height reſemble the confluent ſmall-pox. As it grows alſo in many of the provinces, the inhabitants cure its venom by drinking ſaffron tea, and anointing the external parts with a mixture compoſed of cream and marſh mallows.

The SHRUB OAK is exactly ſimilar to the oak tree, both in its wood and leaves, and like that it bears an acorn, but it never riſes from the ground above four or five feet, growing crooked and knotty. It is found chiefly on a dry gravelly ſoil.

The WITCH HAZLE grows very buſhy, about ten feet high, and is covered early in May with numerous white bloſſoms. When this ſhrub is in bloom, the Indians eſteem it a further indication that the froſt is entirely gone, and that they might ſow their corn. It has been ſaid, that it is poſſeſſed of the power of attracting gold or ſilver, and that twigs of it are made

uſe

uſe of to diſcover where the veins of theſe metals lie hid; but I am apprehenſive that this is only a fallacious ſtory, and not to be depended on; however that ſuppoſition has given it the name of Witch Hazle.

The MYRTLE WAX TREE is a ſhrub about four or five feet high, the leaves of which are larger than thoſe of the common myrtle, but they ſmell exactly alike. It bears its fruit in bunches like a noſegay, riſing from the ſame place in various ſtalks about two inches long: at the end of each of theſe is a little nut containing a kernel, which is wholly covered with a gluey ſubſtance, which being boiled in water, ſwims on the ſurface of it, and becomes a kind of green wax; this is more valuable than bees-wax, being of a more brittle nature, but mixed with it makes a good candle, which as it burns ſends forth an agreeable ſcent.

WINTER GREEN. This is an ever-green of the ſpecies of the myrtle, and is found on dry heaths; the flowers of it are white, and in the form of a roſe, but not larger than a ſilver penny; in the winter it is full of red berries about the ſize of a ſloe, which are ſmooth and

round; theſe are preſerved during the ſevere ſeaſon by the ſnow, and are at that time in the higheſt perfection. The Indians eat theſe berries, eſteeming them very balſamic, and invigorating to the ſtomach. The people inhabiting the interior colonies ſteep both the ſprigs and berries in beer, and uſe it as a diet drink for cleanſing the blood from ſcorbutic diſorders.

The FEVER BUSH grows about five or ſix feet high; its leaf is like that of a lilach, and it bears a reddiſh berry of a ſpicy flavour. The ſtalks of it are exceſſively brittle. A decoction of the buds or wood is an excellent febrifuge, and from this valuable property it receives its name. It is an ancient Indian remedy for all inflammatory complaints, and likewiſe much eſteemed on the ſame account by the inhabitants of the interior parts of the colonies.

The CRANBERRY BUSH. Though the fruit of this buſh greatly reſembles in ſize and appearance that of the common ſort, which grows on a ſmall vine in moraſſes and bogs, yet the buſh runs to the height of ten or twelve feet; but it is very rarely to be met with. As the meadow

meadow cranberry, being of a local growth, and flouriſhing only in moraſſes, cannot be tranſplanted or cultivated, the former, if removed at a proper ſeaſon, would be a valuable acquiſition to the garden, and with proper nurture prove equally as good, if not better.

The CHOAK BERRY. The ſhrub thus termed by the natives grows about five or ſix feet high, and bears a berry about the ſize of a ſloe, of a jet black, which contains ſeveral ſmall ſeeds within the pulp. The juice of this fruit, though not of a diſagreeable flavour, is extremely tart, and leaves a roughneſs in the mouth and throat when eaten, that has gained it the name of choak berry.

ROOTS and PLANTS.

Elecampane, Spikenard, Angelica, Sarſaparilla, Ginſang, Ground Nuts, Wild Potatoes, Liquorice, Snake Root, Gold Thread, Solomon's Seal, Devil's Bit, Blood Root, Onions, Garlick, Wild Parſnips, Mandrakes, Hellebore White and Black.

SPIKE-

SPIKENARD, vulgarly called in the colonies Petty-Morrell. This plant appears to be exactly the ſame as the Aſiatick ſpikenard, ſo much valued by the ancients. It grows near the ſides of brooks in rocky places, and its ſtem, which is about the ſize of a gooſe quill, ſprings up like that of angelica, reaching about a foot and an half from the ground. It bears bunches of berries in all reſpects like thoſe of the elder, only rather larger. Theſe are of ſuch a balſamic nature, that when infuſed in ſpirits, they make a moſt palatable and reviving cordial.

SARSAPARILLA. The root of this plant, which is the moſt eſtimable part of it, is about the ſize of a gooſe quill, and runs in different directions, twined and crooked to a great length in the ground; from the principal ſtem of it ſprings many ſmaller fibres, all of which are tough and flexible. From the root immediately ſhoots a ſtalk about a foot and an half long, which at the top branches into three ſtems; each of theſe has three leaves, much of the ſhape and ſize of a walnut leaf; and from the fork of each of the three ſtems grows a bunch of bluiſh white

flowers, reſembling thoſe of the ſpikenard. The bark of the roots, which alone ſhould be uſed in medicine, is of a bitteriſh flavour, but aromatic. It is deſervedly eſteemed for its medicinal virtues, being a gentle ſudorific, and very powerful in attenuating the blood when impeded by groſs humours.

GINSANG is a root that was once ſuppoſed to grow only in Korea, from whence it was uſually exported to Japan, and by that means found its way to Europe; but it has been lately diſcovered to be alſo a native of North America, where it grows to as great perfection and is equally valuable. Its root is like a ſmall carrot, but not ſo taper at the end; it is ſometimes divided into two or more branches, in all other reſpects it reſembles ſarſaparilla in its growth. The taſte of the root is bitteriſh. In the eaſtern parts of Aſia it bears a great price, being there conſidered as a panacea, and is the laſt refuge of the inhabitants in all diſorders. When chewed it certainly is a great ſtrengthener of the ſtomach.

GOLD THREAD. This is a plant of the ſmall vine kind, which grows in

ſwampy

ſwampy places, and lies on the ground. The roots ſpread themſelves juſt under the ſurface of the moraſs, and are eaſily drawn up by handfuls. They reſemble a large entangled ſkain of thread of a fine bright gold colour; and I am perſuaded would yield a beautiful and permanent yellow dye. It is alſo greatly eſteemed both by the Indians and coloniſts as a remedy for any ſoreneſs in the mouth, but the taſte of it is exquiſitely bitter.

SOLOMON's SEAL is a plant that grows on the ſides of rivers, and in rich meadow land. It riſes in the whole to about three feet high, the ſtalks being two feet, when the leaves begin to ſpread themſelves and reach a foot further. A part in every root has an impreſſion upon it about the ſize of a ſixpence, which appears as if it was made by a ſeal, and from theſe it receives its name. It is greatly valued on account of its being a fine purifier of the blood.

DEVIL's BIT is another wild plant, which grows in the fields, and receives its name from a print that ſeems to be made by teeth in the roots. The Indians ſay that this was once an univerſal remedy

for every diſorder that human nature is incident to; but ſome of the evil ſpirits envying mankind the poſſeſſion of ſo efficacious a medicine gave the root a bite, which deprived it of a great part of its virtue.

BLOOD ROOT. A ſort of plantain that ſprings out of the ground in ſix or ſeven long rough leaves, the veins of which are red; the root of it is like a ſmall carrot both in colour and appearance; when broken, the inſide of it is of a deeper colour than the outſide, and diſtils ſeveral drops of juice that look like blood. This is a ſtrong emetic, but a very dangerous one.

HERBS.

Balm, Nettles, Cinque Foil, Eyebright, Sanicle, Plantain, Rattle Snake Plantain, Poor Robin's Plantain, Toad Plantain, Maiden Hair, Wild Dock, Rock Liverwort, Noble Liverwort, Bloodwort, Wild Beans, Ground Ivy, Water Creſſes, Yarrow, May Weed, Gargit, Skunk Cabbage or Poke, Wake Robin, Betony, Scabious, Mullen, Wild Peaſe, Mouſe Ear, Wild Indigo, Tobacco, and Cat Mint.

SANICLE

SANICLE has a root which is thick towards the upper part, and full of ſmall fibres below; the leaves of it are broad, roundiſh, hard, ſmooth, and of a fine ſhining green; a ſtalk riſes from theſe to the height of a foot, which is quite ſmooth and free from knots, and on the top of it are ſeveral ſmall flowers of a reddiſh white, ſhaped like a wild roſe. A tea made of the root is vulnerary and balſamic.

RATTLE SNAKE PLANTAIN. This uſeful herb is of the plantain kind, and its leaves, which ſpread themſelves on the ground, are about one inch and an half wide, and five inches long; from the centre of theſe ariſes a ſmall ſtalk nearly ſix inches long, which bears a little white flower; the root is about the ſize of a gooſe quill, and much bent and divided into ſeveral branches. The leaves of this herb are more efficacious than any other part of it for the bite of the reptile from which it receives its name; and being chewed and applied immediately to the wound, and ſome of the juice ſwallowed, ſeldoms fails of averting every dangerous ſymptom. So convinced are the Indians

of the power of this infallible antidote, that for a trifling bribe of ſpirituous liquor, they will at any time permit a rattle ſnake to drive his fangs into their fleſh. It is to be remarked that during thoſe months in which the bite of theſe creatures is moſt venomous, that this remedy for it is in its greateſt perfection, and moſt luxuriant in its growth.

POOR ROBIN's PLANTAIN is of the ſame ſpecies as the laſt, but more diminutive in every reſpect; it receives its name from its ſize, and the poor land on which it grows. It is a good medicinal herb, and often adminiſtered with ſucceſs in fevers and internal weakneſſes.

TOAD PLANTAIN reſembles the common plantain, only it grows much ranker, and is thus denominated becauſe toads love to harbour under it.

ROCK LIVERWORT is a ſort of liverwort that grows on rocks, and is of the nature of kelp or moſs. It is eſteemed as an excellent remedy againſt declines.

GARGIT or SKOKE is a large kind of weed, the leaves of which are about ſix inches long, and two inches and an half broad; they reſemble thoſe of ſpinage in their

their colour and texture, but not in ſhape. The root is very large, from which ſpring different ſtalks that run eight or ten feet high, and are full of red berries; theſe hang in cluſters in the month of September, and are generally called pigeon berries, as thoſe birds then feed on them. When the leaves firſt ſpring from the ground, after being boiled, they are a nutritious and wholeſome vegetable, but when they are grown nearly to their full ſize, they acquire a poiſonous quality. The roots applied to the hands or feet of a perſon afflicted with a fever, prove a very powerful abſorbent.

SKUNK CABBAGE or POKE is an herb that grows in moiſt and ſwampy places. The leaves of it are about a foot long, and ſix inches broad, nearly oval, but rather pointed. The roots are compoſed of great numbers of fibres, a lotion of which is made uſe of by the people in the colonies for the cure of the itch. There iſſues a ſtrong muſky ſmell from this herb, ſomething like the animal of the ſame name before deſcribed, and on that account it is ſo termed.

WAKE ROBIN is an herb that grows in ſwampy lands; its root reſembles a ſmall turnip, and if taſted will greatly inflame the tongue, and immediately convert it from its natural ſhape into a round hard ſubſtance; in which ſtate it will continue for ſome time, and during this no other part of the mouth will be affected. But when dried, it loſes its aſtringent quality, and becomes beneficial to mankind, for if grated into cold water, and taken internally, it is very good for all complaints of the bowels.

WILD INDIGO is an herb of the ſame ſpecies as that from whence indigo is made in the ſouthern colonies. It grows in one ſtalk to the height of five or ſix inches from the ground, when it divides into many branches, from which iſſue a great number of ſmall hard bluiſh leaves that ſpread to a great breadth, and among theſe it bears a yellow flower; the juice of it has a very diſagreeable ſcent.

CAT MINT has a woody root, divided into ſeveral branches, and it ſends forth a ſtalk about three feet high; the leaves are like thoſe of the nettle or betony, and they have a ſtrong ſmell of mint,

mint, with a biting acrid taſte; the flowers grow on the tops of the branches, and are of a faint purple or whitiſh colour. It is called cat mint, becauſe it is ſaid that cats have an antipathy to it, and will not let it grow. It has nearly the virtues of common mint *.

FLOWERS.

Heart's Eaſe, Lilies red and yellow, Pond Lilies, Cowſlips, May Flowers, Jeſſamine, Honeyſuckles, Rock Honeyſuckles, Roſes red and white, Wild Hollyhock, Wild Pinks, Golden Rod.

I ſhall not enter into a minute deſcription of the flowers above recited, but only juſt obſerve, that they much reſemble thoſe of the ſame name which grow in Europe, and are as beautiful in colour, and as perfect in odour, as they can be ſuppoſed to be in their wild uncultivated ſtate.

* For an account of Tobacco, ſee a treatiſe I have publiſhed on the culture of that plant.

FARINACEOUS and LEGUMINOUS ROOTS, &c.

Maize or Indian Corn, Wild Rice, Beans, the Squaſh, &c.

MAIZE or INDIAN CORN grows from ſix to ten feet high, on a ſtalk full of joints, which is ſtiff and ſolid, and when green, abounding with a ſweet juice. The leaves are like thoſe of the reed, about two feet in length, and three or four inches broad. The flowers, which are produced at ſome diſtance from the fruit on the ſame plant, grow like the ears of oats, and are ſometimes white, yellow, or of a purple colour. The ſeeds are as large as peas, and like them quite naked and ſmooth, but of a roundiſh ſurface, rather compreſſed. One ſpike generally conſiſts of about ſix hundred grains, which are placed cloſely together in rows to the number of eight or ten, and ſometimes twelve. This corn is very wholeſome, eaſy of digeſtion, and yields as good nouriſhment as any other ſort. After the Indians have reduced

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reduced it into meal by pounding it, they make cakes of it and bake them before the fire. I have already mentioned that ſome nations eat it in cakes before it is ripe, in which ſtate it is very agreeable to the palate and extremely nutritive.

WILD RICE. This grain, which grows in the greateſt plenty throughout the interior parts of North America, is the moſt valuable of all the ſpontaneous productions of that country. Excluſive of its utility, as a ſupply of food for thoſe of the human ſpecies who inhabit this part of the continent, and obtained without any other trouble than that of gathering it in, the ſweetneſs and nutritious quality of it attracts an infinite number of wild fowl of every kind, which flock from diſtant climes to enjoy this rare repaſt; and by it become inexpreſſibly fat and delicious. In future periods it will be of great ſervice to the infant colonies, as it will afford them a preſent ſupport, until in the courſe of cultivation other ſupplies may be produced; whereas in thoſe realms which are not furniſhed with this bounteous gift of nature, even if the climate is temperate and the ſoil good, the

firſt ſettlers are often expoſed to great hardſhips from the want of an immediate reſource for neceſſary food. This uſeful grain grows in the water where it is about two feet deep, and where it finds a rich muddy ſoil. The ſtalks of it, and the branches or ears that bear the ſeed, reſemble oats both in their appearance and manner of growing. The ſtalks are full of joints, and riſe more than eight feet above the water. The natives gather the grain in the following manner: nearly about the time that it begins to turn from its milky ſtate and to ripen, they run their canoes into the midſt of it, and tying bunches of it together juſt below the ears with bark, leave it in this ſituation three or four weeks longer, till it is perfectly ripe. About the latter end of September they return to the river, when each family having its ſeparate allotment, and being able to diſtinguiſh their own property by the manner of faſtening the ſheaves, gather in the portion that belongs to them. This they do by placing their canoes cloſe to the bunches of rice, in ſuch poſition as to receive the grain when it falls, and then beat it out, with pieces

of

of wood formed for that purpoſe. Having done this, they dry it with ſmoke, and afterwards tread or rub off the outſide huſk; when it is fit for uſe they put it into the ſkins of fawns or young buffalos taken off nearly whole for this purpoſe and ſewed into a ſort of ſack, wherein they preſerve it till the return of their harveſt. It has been the ſubject of much ſpeculation why this ſpontaneous grain is not found in any other regions of America, or in thoſe countries ſituated in the ſame parallels of latitude, where the waters are as apparently adapted for its growth as in the climates I treat of. As for inſtance, none of the countries that lie to the ſouth and eaſt of the great lakes, even from the provinces north of the Carolinas to the extremities of Labradore, produce any of this grain. It is true I found great quantities of it in the watered lands near Detroit, between Lake Huron and Lake Erié, but on enquiry I learned that it never arrived nearer to maturity than juſt to bloſſom; after which it appeared blighted, and died away. This convinces me that the north-weſt wind, as I have before hinted, is much more powerful in theſe than

in

in the interior parts; and that it is more inimical to the fruits of the earth, after it has paſſed over the lakes and become united with the wind which joins it from the frozen regions of the north, than it is farther to the weſtward.

BEANS. Theſe are nearly of the ſame ſhape as the European beans, but are not much larger than the ſmalleſt ſize of them. They are boiled by the Indians and eaten chiefly with bear's fleſh.

The SQUASH. They have alſo ſeveral ſpecies of the MELON or PUMPKIN, which by ſome are called Squaſhes, and which ſerve many nations partly as a ſubſtitute for bread. Of theſe there is the round, the crane-neck, the ſmall flat, and the large oblong ſquaſh. The ſmaller ſorts being boiled, are eaten during the ſummer as vegetables; and are all of a pleaſing flavour. The crane-neck, which greatly excells all the others, are uſually hung up for a winter's ſtore, and in this manner might be preſerved for ſeveral months.

APPENDIX.

THE countries that lie between the great lakes and River Miſſiſſippi, and from thence ſouthward to Weſt Florida, although in the midſt of a large continent, and at a great diſtance from the ſea, are ſo ſituated, that a communication between them and other realms might conveniently be opened; by which means thoſe empires or colonies that may hereafter be founded or planted therein, will be rendered commercial ones. The great River Miſſiſſippi, which runs through the whole of them, will enable their inhabitants to eſtabliſh an intercourſe with foreign climes, equally as well as the Euphrates, the Nile, the Danube, or the Wolga do thoſe people which dwell on their banks, and who have no other convenience for exporting the produce of their own country, or for importing thoſe of others, than boats and veſſels of light burden: notwithſtanding

which they have become powerful and opulent ſtates.

The Miſſiſſippi, as I have before obſerved, runs from north to ſouth, and paſſes through the moſt fertile and temperate part of North America, excluding only the extremities of it, which verge both on the torrid and frigid zones. Thus favourably ſituated, when once its banks are covered with inhabitants, they need not long be at a loſs for means to eſtabliſh an extenſive and profitable commerce. They will find the country towards the ſouth almoſt ſpontaneouſly producing ſilk, cotton, indico, and tobacco; and the more northern parts, wine, oil, beef, tallow, ſkins, buffalo-wool, and furs; with lead, copper, iron, coals, lumber, corn, rice, and fruits, beſides earth and barks for dying.

Theſe articles, with which it abounds even to profuſion, may be tranſported to the ocean through this river without greater difficulty than that which attends the conveyance of merchandize down ſome of thoſe I have juſt mentioned. It is true that the Miſſiſſippi being the boundary between the Engliſh and Spaniſh ſettlements,

tlements, and the Spaniards in poſſeſſion of the mouth of it, they may obſtruct the paſſage of it, and greatly diſhearten thoſe who make the firſt attempts; yet when the advantages that will certainly ariſe to ſettlers are known, multitudes of adventurers, allured by the proſpect of ſuch abundant riches, will flock to it, and eſtabliſh themſelves, though at the expence of rivers of blood.

But ſhould the nation that happens to be in poſſeſſion of New Orleans prove unfriendly to the internal ſettlers, they may find a way into the Gulph of Mexico by the River Iberville, which empties itſelf from the Miſſiſſippi, after paſſing through Lake Maurepas, into Lake Ponchartrain; which has a communication with the ſea within the borders of Weſt Florida. The River Iberville branches off from the Miſſiſſippi about eighty miles above New Orleans, and though it is at preſent choaked up in ſome parts, it might at an inconſiderable expence be made navigable ſo as to anſwer all the purpoſes propoſed.

Although the Engliſh have acquired ſince the laſt peace a more extenſive know-

ledge of the interior parts than were ever obtained before, even by the French, yet many of their productions ſtill remain unknown. And though I was not deficient either in aſſiduity or attention during the ſhort time I remained in them, yet I muſt acknowledge that the intelligence I gained was not ſo perfect as I could wiſh, and that it requires further reſearches to make the world thoroughly acquainted with the real value of theſe long hidden realms.

The parts of the Miſſiſſippi of which no ſurvey have hitherto been taken, amount to upwards of eight hundred miles, following the courſe of the ſtream, that is, from the Illinois to the Ouiſconſin Rivers. Thoſe which lie to the north of the latter are included in the map of my travels. Plans of ſuch as reach from the former to the Gulph of Mexico, have been delineated by ſeveral hands; one of the beſt of theſe, according to its ſize, now extant, in which is included the whole continent of North America, is annexed to this work. And I have the pleaſure to find that an actual ſurvey of the intermediate parts of the Miſſiſſippi, between the Illinois

Illinois River and the ſea, with the Ohio, Cherokee, and Ouabache Rivers, taken on the ſpot by a very ingenious Gentleman *, is now publiſhed. I flatter myſelf that the obſervations therein contained, which have been made by one whoſe knowledge of the parts therein deſcribed was acquired by a perſonal inveſtigation, aided by a ſolid judgment, will confirm the remarks I have made, and promote the plan I am here recommending.

In the map of North America adjoined, I have partitioned the country which lies adjacent to the eaſtern borders of the Miſſiſſippi into plantations or ſubordinate colonies; chuſing ſuch lands only for this purpoſe as by being contiguous to ſome river, might enjoy all the advantages I have before pointed out. Theſe I have divided by dotted lines, and numbered; that future adventurers may readily, by referring to the map, chuſe a commodious and advantageous ſituation. I ſhall alſo here give a conciſe deſcription of

* Thomas Hutchins, Eſq; Captain in his Majeſty's 60th, or Royal American Regiment of Foot.

each, beginning, according to the rule of geographers, with that which lies moſt to the north.

It is however neceſſary to obſerve, that before theſe ſettlements can be eſtabliſhed, grants muſt be procured in the manner cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, and the lands be purchaſed of thoſe who have acquired a right to them by a long poſſeſſion: but no greater difficulty will attend the completion of this point, than the original founders of every colony on the continent met with to obſtruct their intentions; and the number of Indians who inhabit theſe tracts being greatly inadequate to their extent, it is not to be doubted, but they will readily give up for a reaſonable conſideration, territories that are of little uſe to them; or remove for the accommodation of their new neighbours to lands at a greater diſtance from the Miſſiſſippi, the navigation of which is not eſſential to the welfare of their communities.

N° I. The country within theſe lines, from its ſituation, is colder than any of the others; yet I am convinced that the air

air is much more temperate than in thoſe provinces that lie in the ſame degree of latitude to the eaſt of it. The ſoil is excellent, and there is a great deal of land that is free from woods in the parts adjoining to the Miſſiſſippi; whilſt on the contrary the north-eaſtern borders of it are well wooded. Towards the heads of the River Saint Croix, rice grows in great plenty, and there is abundance of copper. Though the Falls of Saint Anthony are ſituated at the ſouth-eaſt corner of this diviſion, yet that impediment will not totally obſtruct the navigation, as the River Saint Croix, which runs through a great part of the ſouthern ſide of it, enters the Miſſiſſippi juſt below the Falls, and flows with ſo gentle a current that it affords a convenient navigation for boats. This tract is about one hundred miles from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, and one hundred and twenty miles from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt.

N° II. This tract, as I have already deſcribed it in my Journals, exceeds the higheſt encomiums I can give it; notwithſtanding which it is entirely un-

inhabited, and the profuſion of bleſſings that nature has ſhowered on this heavenly ſpot return unenjoyed to the lap from whence they ſprung. Lake Pepin, as I have termed it after the French, lies within theſe bounds; but the lake to which that name properly belongs is a little above in the River St. Croix; however, as all the traders call the lower lake by that name, I have ſo denominated it, contrary to the information I received from the Indians. This colony lying in unequal angles, the dimenſions of it cannot be exactly given, but it appears to be on an average about one hundred and ten miles long, and eighty broad.

N° III. The greateſt part of this diviſion is ſituated on the River Ouiſconſin, which is navigable for boats about one hundred and eighty miles, till it reaches the Carrying-place that divides it from the Fox River. The land which is contained within its limits, is in ſome parts mountainous, and in others conſiſts of fertile meadows and fine paſturage. It is furniſhed alſo with a great deal of good timber, and, as is generally the caſe on the banks

banks of the Miſſiſſippi and its branches, has much fine, open, clear land, proper for cultivation. To theſe are added an inexhauſtible fund of riches, in a number of lead mines which lie at a little diſtance from the Ouiſconſin towards the ſouth, and appear to be uncommonly full of ore. Although the Saukies and Ottagaumies inhabit a part of this tract, the whole of the lands under their cultivation does not exceed three hundred acres. It is in length from eaſt to weſt about one hundred and fifty miles, and about eighty from north to ſouth.

N° IV. The colony here marked out conſiſts of lands of various denominations, ſome of which are very good, and others very bad. The beſt is ſituated on the borders of the Green Bay and the Fox River, where there are innumerable acres covered with fine graſs, moſt part of which grows to an aſtoniſhing height. This river will afford a good navigation for boats throughout the whole of its courſe, which is about one hundred and eighty miles, except between the Winnebago Lake, and the Green Bay; where there are ſeveral Carrying-places in the

ſpace of thirty miles. The Fox River is rendered remarkable by the abundance of rice that grows on its ſhores, and the almoſt infinite numbers of wild fowl that frequent its banks. The land which lies near it appears to be very fertile, and promiſes to produce a ſufficient ſupply of all the neceſſaries of life for any number of inhabitants. A communication might be opened by thoſe who ſhall ſettle here, either through the Green Bay, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario with Canada, or by way of the Ouiſconſin into the Miſſiſſippi. This diviſion is about one hundred and ſixty miles long from north to ſouth, and one hundred and forty broad.

N° V. This is an excellent tract of land, and, conſidering its interior ſituation, has greater advantages than could be expected; for having the Miſſiſſippi on its weſtern borders, and the Illinois on its ſouth-eaſt, it has as free a navigation as moſt of the others. The northern parts of it ae ſomewhat mountainous, but it contains a great deal of clear land, the ſoil of which is excellent, with many fine fertile meadows, and not a few rich mines.

It

It is upwards of two hundred miles from north to ſouth, and one hundred and fifty from eaſt to weſt.

N° VI. This colony being ſituated upon the heads of the Rivers Illinois and Ouabache, the former of which empties itſelf immediately into the Miſſiſſippi, and the latter into the ſame river by means of the Ohio, will readily find a communication with the ſea through theſe. Having alſo the River Miamis paſſing though it, which runs into Lake Erie, an intercourſe might be eſtabliſhed with Canada alſo by way of the lakes, as before pointed out. It contains a great deal of rich fertile land, and though more inland than any of the others, will be as valuable an acquiſition as the beſt of them. From north to ſouth it is about one hundred and ſixty miles, from eaſt to weſt one hundred and eighty.

N° VII. This diviſion is not inferior to any of the foregoing. Its northern borders lying adjacent to the Illinois river, and its weſtern to the Miſſiſſippi, the ſituation of it for eſtabliſhing a commercial intercourſe with foreign nations is very commodious. It abounds with all

the neceſſaries of life, and is about one hundred and fifty miles from north to ſouth, and ſixty miles from eaſt to weſt; but the confines of it being more irregular than the others, I cannot exactly aſcertain the dimenſions of it.

N° VIII. This colony having the River Ouabache running through the centre of it, and the Ohio for its ſouthern boundary, will enjoy the advantages of a free navigation. It extends about one hundred and forty miles from north to ſouth, and one hundred and thirty from eaſt to weſt.

N° IX. X. and XI. being ſimilar in ſituation, and furniſhed with nearly the ſame conveniencies as all the others, I ſhall only give their dimenſions. N° IX. is about eighty miles each way, but not exactly ſquare. N° X. is nearly in the ſame form, and about the ſame extent. N° XI. is much larger, being at leaſt one hundred and fifty miles from north to ſouth, and one hundred and forty from eaſt to weſt, as nearly as from its irregularity it is poſſible to calculate.

After the deſcription of this delightful country I have already given, I need not repeat that all the ſpots I have thus pointed

pointed out as proper for colonization; abound not only with the neceſſaries of life, being well ſtored with rice, deer, buffalos, bears, &c. but produce in equal abundance ſuch as may be termed luxuries, or at leaſt thoſe articles of commerce before recited, which the inhabitants of it will have an opportunity of exchanging for the needful productions of other countries.

The diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage to India has been the ſubject of innumerable diſquiſitions. Many efforts likewiſe have been made by way of Hudſon's Bay to penetrate into the Pacific Ocean, though without ſucceſs. I ſhall not therefore trouble myſelf to enumerate the advantages that would reſult from this much wiſhed-for diſcovery, its utility being already too well known to the commercial world to need any elucidation; I ſhall only confine myſelf to the methods that appear moſt probable to enſure ſucceſs to future adventurers.

The many attempts that have hitherto been made for this purpoſe, but which have all been rendered abortive, ſeem to have turned the ſpirit of making uſeful reſearches into another chan-

nel, and this moſt intereſting one has almoſt been given up as impracticable; but, in my opinion, their failure rather proceeds from their being begun at an improper place, than from their impracticability.

All navigators that have hitherto gone in ſearch of this paſſage, have firſt entered Hudſon's Bay; the conſequence of which has been, that having ſpent the ſeaſon during which only thoſe ſeas are navigable, in exploring many of the numerous inlets lying therein, and this without diſcovering any opening, terrified at the approach of winter, they have haſtened back for fear of being frozen up, and conſequently of being obliged to continue till the return of ſummer in thoſe bleak and dreary realms. Even ſuch as have perceived the coaſts to enfold themſelves, and who have of courſe entertained hopes of ſucceeding, have been deterred from proſecuting their voyage, leſt the winter ſhould ſet in before they could reach a more temperate climate.

Theſe apprehenſions have diſcouraged the boldeſt adventurers from completing the expeditions in which they have engaged, and fruſtrated every attempt. But as it has been

been diſcovered by ſuch as have ſailed into the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean, that there are many inlets which verge towards Hudſon's Bay, it is not to be doubted but that a paſſage might be made out from that quarter, if it be ſought for at a proper ſeaſon. And ſhould theſe expectations be diſappointed, the explorers would not be in the ſame hazardous ſituation with thoſe who ſet out from Hudſon's Bay, for they will always be ſure of a ſafe retreat, through an open ſea, to warmer regions, even after repeated diſappointments. And this confidence will enable them to proceed with greater reſolution, and probably be the means of effecting what too much circumſpection or timidity has prevented.

Theſe reaſons for altering the plan of enquiry after this convenient paſſage, carry with them ſuch conviction, that in the year 1774 Richard Whitworth, Eſq. member of parliament for Stafford, a gentleman of an extenſive knowledge in geography, of an active enterpriſing diſpoſition, and whoſe benevolent mind is ever ready to promote the happineſs of individuals, or the welfare of the public, from the repreſentations made

made to him of the expediency of it by myſelf and others, intended to travel acroſs the continent of America, that he might attempt to carry a ſcheme of this kind into execution.

He deſigned to have purſued nearly the ſame route that I did; and after having built a fort at Lake Pepin, to have proceeded up the River St. Pierre, and from thence up a branch of the River Meſſorie, till having diſcovered the ſource of the Oregan or River of the Weſt, on the other ſide the ſummit of the lands that divide the waters which run into the Gulph of Mexico from thoſe that fall into the Pacific Ocean, he would have ſailed down that river to the place where it is ſaid to empty itſelf near the Straights of Annian.

Having there eſtabliſhed another ſettlement on ſome ſpot that appeared beſt calculated for the ſupport of his people, in the neighbourhood of ſome of the inlets which tend towards the north-eaſt, he would from thence have begun his reſearches. This gentleman was to have been attended in the expedition by Colonel Rogers, myſelf, and others,

others, and to have taken out with him a ſufficient number of artificers and mariners for building the forts and veſſels neceſſary on the occaſion, and for navigating the latter; in all not leſs than fifty or ſixty men. The grants and other requiſites for this purpoſe were even nearly completed, when the preſent troubles in America began, which put a ſtop to an enterprize that promiſed to be of inconceivable advantage to the Britiſh dominions.

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